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# USSR Report

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 10, July 1984

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4 October 1984

**USSR REPORT**  
**TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST**

No 10, July 1984

Translations from the Russian-language theoretical organ of the CPSU-Central Committee published in Moscow (18 issues per year).

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## THE BASIS FOR STRENGTHENING THE COMMUNITY OF CEMA COUNTRIES

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pp 3-15

Article by N. Tikhonov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers

Text The economic conference of the CEMA countries, which was held at the highest level from 12-14 June 1984 in Moscow, was an event of great significance in the life of the socialist community and the international communist and workers movement as a whole. It marked the transition to a qualitatively new stage in the interaction between the economies of the fraternal countries. A major step forward was made in coordinating their economic policies. The long-term directions of economic cooperation and mutual aid, covering the period up until the end of this century, were determined in the program documents unanimously approved and signed at the conference, and ways of resolving the most important economic problems were collectively mapped out.

All this, as Comrade K. U. Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, noted, must make it possible to better utilize the advantages of socialist integration for the good of our peoples and to create the potentials for more effectively fulfilling the tasks of intensifying production and of further coordinating the levels of development of the CEMA member countries. In the unanimous opinion of the leaders of the fraternal parties and countries, the conference's decisions are of immense and truly historic significance for the further development of the CEMA countries, the deepening of their cooperation, and the strengthening of their unity and cohesion. The agreements reached at the conference respond to the interests of all the countries within the community, the interests of socialism and the strengthening of peace on earth.

The program documents of the Moscow conference--the Statement on the Main Directions for Further Developing and Deepening the Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation of the CEMA Member Countries and the Declaration of the CEMA Member Countries: "The Preservation of Peace and International Economic Cooperation"--were welcomed by the peoples of fraternal states and aroused a broad response among circles of the international public.

The conference and the documents adopted at it reflect the determination of the fraternal countries to act in unity for the purposes of strengthening the positions of socialism and peace.

As is well-known, a course to develop socialist economic integration was adopted at the 23rd (Special) CEMA session in 1969.

The Comprehensive Program for Socialist Economic Integration, drafted while proceeding from the decisions of this session, became the basis for deepening cooperation in subsequent years. Today, as it was unanimously noted at the conference, one can rightfully say that the course of integration has justified itself completely. The community of fraternal countries has become even stronger. CEMA's international prestige has increased. Its positive influence upon the economic life of every fraternal country has grown.

During the last 15 years, the CEMA countries have made important and positive progress in developing the national economy by utilizing the advantages of the plan system of economic operations and by relying upon comprehensive mutual cooperation. The socialist community has doubled its industrial production volume while the developed capitalist countries have increased theirs by only little more than a third. The average annual growth in the CEMA countries' national income during the 1971-83 period was 4.6 percent with industrial production rising by 5.6 percent, while the figures for the EEC countries were 2.2 and 1.5 percent, respectively.

The socialist community is now a powerful economic complex with an approximate share of one-third of the world industrial production and scientific-technical potential and one-quarter of the world's national income.

The basic social advantages of socialism are also becoming more and more apparent. The tasks connected with satisfying the growing material and spiritual needs of the population are being consistently fulfilled and major social programs are being implemented. The saturation of our countries' domestic markets with various commodities, especially durables, is increasing noticeably. The structure of foodstuff consumption has also improved. Housing construction is being carried out on a large scale. The number of apartments commissioned in the CEMA countries during the 1971-83 period exceeded 38 million. A great deal of attention is being devoted to public health care development, to the strengthening of its material base and to maternity and child care. It is sufficient to say that during the 1971-83 period, the number of specialists graduating from higher education institutions in the CEMA countries increased almost 1.4 times.

The dynamic growth in the economies of the fraternal states has been accompanied by an equalization of the levels of their economic development. The maximum difference between the volumes of per capita average industrial production in the European countries has been significantly reduced and now amounts to approximately 1.5 times.

As well as the growth in the production volumes in the CEMA countries the national economy is being progressively restructured--this is also being aided by mutual cooperation. Whereas, for example, machine construction and

chemistry comprised between 10 and 17 percent of Bulgaria's, Poland's and Romania's industrial production in 1950, they now comprise between 32 and 41 percent.

Much has also been done in recent years to assist the development of the economy in Vietnam, Cuba and Mongolia. More than 750 large-scale economic projects have been built in these states with the help of the Soviet Union and the other CEMA countries.

The economic and social development of these countries is one convincing illustration of the advantages of the socialist path of development and of the effectiveness of interaction and mutual aid between the fraternal socialist countries. The successes of the peoples of these countries in all spheres of life are particularly impressive when set against the background of the serious economic situation, deepening political and economic dependence, poverty and deprivation of rights to which the developing countries are condemned by imperialism.

The foreign trade of the CEMA member countries has developed at rapid rates, exceeding the growth rates of the national income and industrial production. During the 1971-83 period, their foreign trade turnover increased 4.9 times. This testifies to the deepening of our countries' participation in the international division of labor and to the intensive development of their economic cooperation.

Socialist integration is a reliable source for satisfying the many needs of every fraternal state's economy for the most important types of products. By means of reciprocal trade, the CEMA countries supply the majority of their own import requirements for machines and equipment, coal, oil, natural gas, iron ore, rolled ferrous metals, saw timber, cotton, consumer goods and others.

Changes in the structure of production have also been accompanied by profound structural changes in trade. The proportion of finished products in reciprocal export, and particularly of machines and equipment, has grown considerably. Thus, Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR and Czechoslovakia supply the CEMA market with between 30 and 40 percent of the machines and equipment they have produced themselves, thereby creating a stable foundation for the development of branches that determine scientific-technical progress within these countries.

All the experience of the CEMA countries' economic and social development convincingly confirms the advantages of the socialist system with its systematic development of the economy, social and national equality, ideological cohesion of society, confidence in the future and constant concern for the individual and his all-around development. It is on this basis that the socialist way of life is enriched, the political system of the socialist countries developed, and socialist democracy perfected, the latter really guaranteeing the most extensive civil rights and freedoms.

The impressive achievements of the socialist community are the result of the selfless labor of the new world's builders and of the immense amount of work done by the communist and workers parties in fraternal countries. At the same

time, they are also the result of the effective strength of socialist economic integration. The principles of internationalism, respect for state sovereignty and national interests, noninterference in internal affairs, full equality, mutual benefit and comradely mutual aid, which were consolidated in the CEMA statute and the comprehensive program, have been freshly embodied in practice during these years. The CPSU's economic policy constantly considers the necessity to deepen mutual cooperation in every possible way in the interests of developing the economy of every socialist country and of the community as a whole.

The principled foundations of our economic relations with the states within the community are consolidated in the USSR Constitution of which Clause 30 states: "As a component of the world socialist system and the socialist community, the USSR develops and strengthens friendship, cooperation and comradely mutual aid with the countries of socialism on the basis of the principle of socialist internationalism and actively participates in economic integration and in the international socialist division of labor. This line, which is clearly backed up by the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums, is steadily implemented by the Soviet Union.

The USSR extensively participates in building large-scale economic projects and shares its production and scientific-technical experience. With our assistance, more than 1,750 projects have already been built in the CEMA countries and approximately another 1,000 industrial enterprises and other projects, primarily in the heavy industry branches, are in the process of construction. More than half of the USSR's foreign trade turnover goes to the CEMA countries. The Soviet Union's export contribution to large-scale reproduction in the fraternal countries is growing. Soviet exports of up-to-date machines and equipment to the CEMA countries will increase during the current five-year plan.

The CEMA countries satisfy the greater part of their import needs for energy and raw materials with deliveries from the Soviet Union. For many years now these deliveries have been made while applying such principles of price setting as make it possible for the fraternal countries to protect their economies from the sharp blows of the energy crisis and market fluctuations characteristic of the world capitalist economy.

Thanks to a guaranteed import of oil, gas and other kinds of fuel and raw materials from the USSR, the fraternal CEMA countries have built up a contemporary petrochemical and oil-refining industry, have fundamentally increased the production capacity of their metallurgical industry, and are dynamically developing other branches of industry. And this, in its turn, has contributed to strengthening mutually advantageous economic relations between the countries within the community. Deliveries from fraternal states assist the growth of the USSR's national economy and make it possible to more fully satisfy the needs of our country's population. During the current five-year plan period it has received more than 60 billion rubles' worth of equipment and 40 billion rubles' worth of consumer goods from the CEMA countries.

Conscious utilization within the sphere of cooperation of the objective economic laws inherent in socialism, and the law of systematic, proportional development in particular, ensures the progressive development and deepening of the international socialist division of labor, as well as its stability and mutually beneficial nature. It is completely natural, therefore, that the main method of deepening socialist economic integration should be cooperation within the sphere of plan activity, and particularly coordination of national economic plans. The systematic nature of cooperation within the CEMA framework emanates from the systematic way in which the economy is run in each of the countries belonging to the council. Coordinated plans for multilateral integration measures have been put into practice, as well as long-term, special purpose programs for cooperation in key branches of production, and long-term, bilateral programs for production specialization and cooperation.

The coordination of plans has become a complex system of cooperation development and one closely bound up with the countries' national plans and aimed at ensuring the growth of production and of reciprocal deliveries of raw materials, energy and finished products. A practical step has thus been taken toward implementing Marx's prediction about the development under the conditions of socialism of "harmonious national and international coordination of the social forms of production" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." Works, vol 17, p 553).

One can judge the scale of this work if only by the fact that, while coordinating plans for the current five-year plan, approximately 150 agreements were signed, primarily in such highly important spheres as specializing and coordinating the production of equipment for nuclear power plants, automation lines, machines with automatic numerical program control and hydraulic and pneumatic equipment, building nuclear power plants on the territory of the USSR in order to increase supplies of electric energy to the CEMA countries, installing electric power transition lines and developing the production of sugar and citrus plants in the Republic of Cuba.

At the same time, the level of economic development and mutual cooperation reached by the CEMA countries and the changed internal and external conditions of reproduction, have aroused the necessity to further strengthen the plan foundations of socialist economic integration. This primarily demands closer interaction between the fraternal countries, both on the level of the central administrative organs and at branch level, and between the economic organizations. It is toward this aim that the decisions of the economic conference on deepening the coordination of economic policies and developing direct links between the various units of economic administration are directed.

The decisions collectively worked out at the Moscow conference fundamentally enrich the theory and practice of long-term plan cooperation between the fraternal states. The coordination of economic policies makes it possible to jointly map out ways of resolving major economic problems that are of mutual interest and of great significance for each of the fraternal countries and to determine the directions of economic development and cooperation for the long-term, as well as ways of direct interaction in the spheres of science, technology, material production and capital construction. In the final

analysis, this is important for the purposes of concentrating forces and means in key directions and overcoming parallelism and duplication in production, scientific research and project and design work. In this connection, it is deemed expedient to hold regular meetings at the level of the highest party and state leadership in order to coordinate the principled directions of the CEMA countries' strategy of economic development for the long term and to deepen the international socialist division of labor.

Another important conclusion drawn at the conference is that there is a common interest in expanding direct links between the branch ministries, associations and enterprises. This corresponds to the development trend of the CEMA countries' economic mechanisms at the contemporary stage and to the heightening of initiative and responsibility among the main economic accountability sectors of production management.

Decisions were recently adopted in the Soviet Union that create more favorable organizational and, what is particularly important, economic conditions stimulating the development of direct production links between enterprises in the USSR and in the other CEMA countries. These decisions are aimed at developing intrabranch cooperation and deepening socialist integration. A system has been determined for planning and implementing reciprocal deliveries of products produced in production cooperation and for ensuring their material and financial resources. The industrial enterprises have been granted the right to form funds for developing international cooperation that will be directly at their disposal. This will make it possible for them to reach agreement with their partners from the CEMA countries on reciprocal deliveries of machines, equipment, materials, and technology necessary for developing cooperation production and will also make it possible for them to materially encourage the labor collectives.

Together with the fraternal countries, the Soviet Union also plans to more extensively practice forming collective scientific centers, joint project-design offices and joint enterprises and firms that will make it possible to use more effective forms of comprehensive cooperation covering all stages--from beginning the development of new technical equipment and technology to using it in production and selling products.

The necessity to study carefully and utilize extensively the collective experience of the community was pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress. The benefits of expanding the mutual exchange of experience of socialist economic operations were also mentioned at the conference. The need for this is especially strong in the conditions of ever deepening socialist economic integration, which objectively leads to a drawing together of the fraternal countries and, consequently, also to an ever greater similarity of tasks fulfilled by them in the most diverse spheres.

This will be assisted by the development international socialist competition and by the expansion of friendly relations between the labor collectives of our countries. Here we are basically dealing with a very great and practically inexhaustible reserve for speeding up the socioeconomic development of the socialist countries, intensifying production and increasing its efficiency.

As an example, one can take the work that Soviet organizations are doing together with corresponding organizations in the GDR to compare the indicators of material, energy and manpower expenditures in the production of similar products. At present, a total of 27 industrial enterprises in the USSR and combines in the GDR are analyzing these indicators for more than 30 types of products and are developing measures to introduce the best experience. Extensively utilizing these results in the national economy will, of course, help to reduce energy- and material-intensive production, in which all of our countries are interested. This practical trend could occupy a prominent place in the development of direct links between the associations and the enterprises.

As was noted at the conference, while highly praising what has been achieved in cooperation between the CEMA countries, one must constantly concentrate attention upon long-term tasks and problems not yet resolved. This is required by the fundamental changes that have taken place in the internal and external conditions of development of the socialist countries.

It was emphasized at the 26th CPSU Congress that "we are far from being able to paint a picture of the contemporary socialist world in endless joyous colors." Establishing a new type of international relations is a complex matter. In the course of socialist construction, the fraternal countries have not only fulfilled and are fulfilling major, historic tasks of socioeconomic development on the basis of cooperation and mutual aid, but they have also formed a fundamentally new mechanism of economic interaction aimed at accelerating the growth of the community's economy and forming developed economic complexes in all the countries belonging to the community. With the transition of the majority of these countries to the path of intensive development, they have been faced with qualitatively new tasks. These tasks demand that the whole system of mutual cooperation be fundamentally perfected.

The same law manifests itself in international socialist integration as that which applies to the internal economic development of the industrial countries: The period of extensive growth comes to an end and a decisive step must be taken along the path of intensifying the economy and increasing the effectiveness of cooperation. The rate at which progress is made along the path of economic construction and the formation of the material prerequisites for further strengthening the positions of the community in the world economy now depend upon how consistently this task is fulfilled.

Intensifying the economy is a multifaceted problem. The main condition for resolving this problem consists in accelerating scientific-technical progress, primarily in the key branches of the economy, and in qualitatively transforming all branches of production and the technical basis of the nonproduction sphere on the basis of new technical equipment and technology. It will thus be possible to ensure economic growth with the least expenditure of resources and with the greatest return on production funds.

This is all the more important in view of the fact that the economic situation is now taking shape under the influence of the conditions of reproduction becoming more complicated for many of the CEMA countries--a reduction in the

influx of manpower, an increase in the cost of raw materials and energy, and limitations on their usage in production.

Having analyzed the situation, the participants in the conference were of the same opinion that the spearhead of the CEMA countries' economic strategy for the foreseeable future is the speeding up of scientific-technical progress.

Agreement was reached on drawing up the Comprehensive Program for the Scientific-Technical Progress of the CEMA countries which covers the period up until the end of this century and which will help to concentrate efforts on the main, decisive aspects of technological development--electronics, the production of automation means, including flexible automated systems, nuclear power engineering, the creation of new types of materials and technology and biotechnology.

The drawing up of general agreements on the basis of the Comprehensive Program will make it possible to pass on to concrete actions more quickly and to concentrate resources in key spheres that ensure a cardinal increase in labor productivity, maximum economy of resources, and a steady growth in the quality of products. The drawing up and consistent implementation of these agreements is a major goal of the present stage of socialist integration.

The question is primarily one of the extensive use of electronics and up-to-date automation means. Collective work has already begun in many sectors. A unified basis for electronic products is being developed by joint efforts within the community. This is an important factor in pursuing a unified technical policy. The task consists in introducing this policy more quickly wherever electronic equipment is built. More active work must also be done to organize the production of scarce technological equipment, and particularly of pure materials for electronics, to build equipment by using microprocessors, and to develop standard programs of mathematical calculations.

Speeding up the robotization of production in the CEMA countries is a most important task emanating from the conference decisions. During the coming five-year plan, it is planned to manufacture more than 100,000 industrial robots, more than 4,000 automatic and semi-automatic lines and more than 110,000 machines with automatic digital control in the USSR--that is, almost 2-3 times more than during the current five-year plan. The fraternal countries also envisage considerably increasing their output of these kinds of technical means.

In addition to this, it is planned to build approximately 2,000 flexible automated production systems (including fully automated sectors, workshops and plants) and up to 3,000 automated design systems in the USSR by 1990. By means of increasing labor productivity, economizing production areas, reducing prime costs and improving the quality of products, expenditure is recovered in 2 to 3.5 years. Broad scope for cooperation with the fraternal countries is opening up everywhere in this respect. Setting up an international center for the development of robot equipment and flexible automated systems, for example, would be of great significance. Such a center could become a reference research and educational base like the Joint Institute for Nuclear Research in Dubna.

Highly effective methods of producing new ceramic and polymer materials with given properties and unique alloys have been created in the Soviet Union on the basis of fundamental research, and new methods of casting, powder metallurgy, submerged-arc smelting and plasma, electronic-radiation and vacuum processes have been developed. Some of them are at a higher level than those in the West. Uniting forces in this sphere could have a considerable effect, as could the joint development of achievements in biotechnology.

We regard successful progress in these and other highly important aspects of scientific-technical progress as the main path and the material basis for radically transforming the structure and methods of production and for ensuring the technical-economic invulnerability of the socialist countries.

The advanced achievements of science and technology must be primarily embodied in the new generations of machines and equipment. The machine construction complex is a leading factor in effectively and dynamically developing the economy and the basis for technically rearming the whole national economy.

The community of the CEMA countries possesses a powerful machine construction potential. Every year we exchange machine construction products worth tens of billions of rubles. The task lies in increasing the proportion of progressive types of technical equipment in this exchange. Obviously, we must speed up the development of a system of measures that will heighten interest in building the most up-to-date models of machines and equipment and knock out the delivery of outdated products. The role of CEMA's standards must increase in ensuring a high technical level of manufactured goods.

The CEMA countries' present technical and production potentials make it possible to organize the production of many types of machines and equipment of a world standard. While coordinating plans for the next five-year plan, the Soviet organizations intend to propose organizing the production of these manufactured goods for the purposes of reciprocal deliveries. For its part, the Soviet Union plans to increase considerably its export of up-to-date machines and equipment.

The CEMA countries are going to devote more and more attention to intensifying mutually advantageous specialization and cooperation of production. It is precisely by this means that the complex problems of increasing the production of computer equipment, equipment for nuclear power plants, modern oil refining equipment, and a number of manufactured goods for interbranch purposes are resolved today.

The significance of integration in the fuel-raw material branches is also growing in the conditions of the transition to an intensive path of development. Ever greater attention is being devoted to improving the use of fuel and raw material resources and to acquiring new sources of energy. As is well-known in recent years, the energy base of the CEMA member countries has rapidly developed. The production of all forms of primary energy resources increased 1.6 times in 1983 in comparison to 1970, and that of electrical energy, 1.9 times. Integration measures have contributed to these achievements to a considerable extent. A particularly impressive example of

the effective cooperation of the CEMA countries' efforts and means is the construction of powerful international pipeline systems for conveying oil and natural gas from beds located on the territory of the Soviet Union.

The USSR will also continue these deliveries in the coming 5-year period. In this respect, it is envisaged increasing natural gas and electrical energy exports to the fraternal countries. Together with the countries' own efforts to increase their production of fuel-energy resources and to utilize them efficiently, this will create the necessary basis for the progressive development of their economies.

As far as the long term is concerned, an important role could be played in this sphere by the implementation of our proposal jointly to construct a new export gas pipeline from Western Siberia. Gas supplies via this pipeline could reach 20-22 billion cubic meters per annum.

There is great potential in the development of nuclear energy. At the present time, nuclear power plants are in operation in the CEMA member countries with a power-generating capacity of approximately 26 million kilowatts. By 1990, their total power-generating capacity will reach 100 million kilowatts. The development of nuclear energy is being carried out in accordance with a major intergovernmental agreement on the multilateral specialization and cooperation of production and reciprocal deliveries of equipment for nuclear power plants. The task of preparing a program for the further development of nuclear energy for the period up to the year 2000 was advanced at the economic conference. This program will make provision for building both nuclear power plants and nuclear heat and power plants, as well as heat supply stations.

In recent years, solid fuels (brown coal, lignite) have been more extensively drawn into economic circulation in the CEMA countries. There are good deposits of these energy resources in the CEMA countries. The possibilities for utilizing them are still far from exhausted.

It is also planned to concentrate great efforts on economizing fuel-raw materials resources in every possible way. Energy consumption per unit of the national income in the CEMA countries is as yet higher than in the Common Market countries. We have no choice other than setting the economy still more resolutely on an energy- and material-saving path of development.

That is why emphasis was placed in the conference's documents on the CEMA countries cooperating in developing and introducing those types of technical equipment and technology capable of ensuring qualitative changes in the specific consumption of resources. This will require restructuring many branches of industry--primarily nonferrous and ferrous metallurgy, the chemical industry, machine building, as well as construction--on the most advanced scientific-technical basis.

We attach great significance to cooperation in the spheres of agriculture and the light and food industries. Agreements concerning these spheres are aimed at meeting the population's demands for foodstuffs and industrial goods more fully, which will assist the fulfillment of our parties' highest aim--to improve the people's well-being.

The fulfillment of these tasks is set on a plan basis in the Soviet Union. The Food Program is being implemented. The Comprehensive Program for Developing the Production of Consumer Goods and the System of Public Services is being completed. These programs are primarily calculated to make maximum use of our own potentials and resources. At the same time, the USSR orients itself toward broadening cooperation in resolving a number of problems common to the CEMA countries, primarily those connected with significantly increasing labor productivity in the branches in the agroindustrial complex. Soviet organizations will actively participate in implementing planned measures to develop and produce the whole gamut of highly productive machines for plant growing, livestock breeding and fodder production, as well as a complex of equipment ensuring the elimination of losses in the transportation, storage and processing of agricultural products and to build new machines for the light and food industries. In particular, the question is one of building new types of highly productive equipment for the production of consumer goods, spinning and weaving machines with electronic control, production lines for unwoven fiber materials, automatic machines with microprocessors for the waste-free production of knotted goods, and rapidly resettable production units for manufacturing clothes and footwear, the latter with the extensive use of robot equipment.

In accordance with the agreements reached at the conference, the CEMA countries will consistently develop both the production and reciprocal deliveries of food and industrial consumer goods with the aim of better satisfying the needs of the population.

The countries of socialism have to fulfill new creative tasks under the conditions of the sharply exacerbated political and economic situation in the world. As a result of the course of confrontation chosen by the aggressive circles of imperialism, primarily American imperialism and attempts to gain military superiority and to pursue a policy of force and interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states, international tension and the threat of war have seriously increased.

The Soviet Union has repeatedly stated that the socialist community will not permit the existing approximate parity of the military potentials of the two opposing systems to be broken and that we will do everything to preserve this parity.

Objectively, and by the very nature of our system, we are not interested in increasing our military might, and urge all states to begin implementing realistic measures for nuclear disarmament. By pushing other countries into ever new spirals of the arms race, the ruling U.S. circles strive to compel them to divert to nonproductive directions those material and intellectual resources that could be used for the good of the peoples.

The American administration and its most reactionary partners in other countries of the West show no desire for honest, constructive dialogue on an equal footing. What is more, they still try to utilize international economic relations for their own political aims. Against generally accepted norms of interstate relations they violate agreements already reached and try to

organize a trade, credit and technological blockade of the socialist community.

Imperialism tries to make the export of advanced technology and the most up-to-date equipment an instrument of economic and trade-political pressure. The recent meeting in London of the leaders of the "Seven" leading countries of the capitalist world testifies to the intention to continue pursuing such a policy, forgetting that with regard to the countries of the socialist community, this course is without a future. The unity and interaction of the CEMA countries and the steady growth of their potential make it possible for them to stand up to American blackmail and any discriminatory measures and to safeguard firmly their technical-economic invulnerability. Since attempts at economic aggression on the part of the West require the adoption of appropriate coordinated measures on the part of the CEMA member states, the conference's decisions clearly define the tasks in this sphere.

The adopted Declaration of the CEMA Member Countries "Preserving Peace and International Economic Cooperation" reflects the united approach of all 10 CEMA member countries to fundamental international economic problems. Halting the arms race, reducing arms and maintaining the military-strategic balance at ever lower levels--such, in the unanimous opinion of the CEMA member countries, is a most important condition for improving the world economic situation. The countries of the community always have been and continue to be opposed to autarchy and economic self-isolation. They have always been and continue to be in favor of extensive, mutually advantageous cooperation with other states and the normalization of international economic relations.

Consequently, the CEMA countries spoke in favor of continuing and expanding businesslike cooperation with the capitalist states and with individual firms. They once again confirmed their loyalty to the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act and the agreements reached at the Madrid meeting by emphasizing in the declaration adopted at the conference that mutually advantageous cooperation between the European countries could help to expand trade, ensure energy and raw materials, accelerate technical progress, develop international transport, protect the environment and increase employment in countries with a high level of unemployment.

One can cite a multitude of examples illustrating the effectiveness of international economic relations free of discrimination and inequality. Relations between the countries of the socialist community and the developing states are of precisely this nature. These relations are conducive to overcoming economic backwardness, forming an up-to-date economy, organizing the process of large-scale reproduction on a national basis, and, finally, strengthening the economic independence of the young states. Economic liberation, V. I. Lenin emphasized, is the main factor in ensuring the genuine independence of peoples aspiring to political independence" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." Complete Collected Works, vol 22, p 187).

The participants in the conference confirmed their readiness to continue strengthening equal economic relations with the developing countries on a multilateral and bilateral basis, concentrating their efforts in those

directions that contribute to strengthening their economic independence and to forming harmonious economic complexes in those countries.

By consistently working for the normalization of international economic relations and for the broadest possible development of trade with all states on the bases of equality and noninterference in internal affairs, the Soviet Union and all the fraternal socialist countries are making an immense contribution to the cause of strengthening peace and to the development of mutually advantageous cooperation, which they regard as the material foundation for the peaceful coexistence of two social systems.

The consistent internationalization of the economic life of the countries belonging to the socialist community is a natural and historically necessary process. This process is fully in accord with Lenin's views on the future development of the world economy.

Coordinated decisions of great significance for the future development of the world socialist economy and the economies of each of the countries belonging to the socialist community were adopted at the highest level at the economic conference of the CEMA member countries. Purposeful work to fulfill these decisions now lies ahead of us. "It is clear, of course," emphasized Comrade K. U. Chernenko, "that even good decisions will not yield results of their own accord if purposeful action is not taken to put them into practice."

The 38th (extraordinary) CEMA session, which was held immediately after the economic conference, determined the organizational measures to fulfill these decisions.

Implementing the documents of the conference and of the extraordinary CEMA session places a great responsibility upon our ministries and departments, associations and enterprises--in a word, upon all direct participants in integration cooperation.

The CPSU and the Soviet government regard the strengthening of economic interaction with the fraternal countries not only as an economic task, but also as an important political one.

We intend to take full consideration of the jointly drawn up agreements in the draft Main Directions of the USSR's Economic and Social Development for the Coming Five-Year Plan and for the Period Through the Year 1990 are now being elaborated.

Of course, while conducting this work, we proceed from both the common interests of the socialist community and from the concrete interests of our country. We strive to create all the conditions so that the economies of our CEMA partners develop dynamically and steadily and so that more and more high-quality products are obtainable on our socialist market, including the Soviet domestic market.

Great demands are made on our planning and economic organs in this connection. They will have to complete the coordination of plans for the new five-year plan in such a way that its results correspond as far as possible to the

decisions of the conference, and also work out a complex of measures aimed at practically fulfilling the long-term aims of cooperation and translate these aims into the language of concrete tasks. The question is primarily one of the Soviet economic organs and organizations participating in working out general and other agreements on cooperation and collaboration in a number of branches and production units. The obligations of the Soviet side must be included in good time in the tasks for the new five-year plan and for the more long-term future.

The problems of coordinating branch development, capital investments and production programs, intensifying specialization and cooperation and ensuring a high technical level of production must be resolved in the course of this work at the level of ministries and departments.

The question is also one of participation in elaborating and implementing the Comprehensive Program for the Scientific-Technical Progress of the CEMA Countries for 15-20 Years. Concrete agreements on extensive scientific-production cooperation in the most important aspects of a coordinated technical policy must be drawn up more quickly and the required resources must be allotted in good time.

We expect our designers and production workers to activate work to ensure that key branches in production and are supplied with machines and equipment of high quality and to expand cooperation through the entire cycle of "research-production-sale-technical servicing." We must be prepared so that Soviet associations can become the leading executors and coordinators of this kind of work within the community in a number of aspects of technical progress.

When developing long-term projects for cooperation between the USSR and the other CEMA countries, particular attention must be devoted to measures aimed at perfecting the structure of reciprocal trade, particularly by means of increasing the proportion of machines and equipment and products highly suitable for processing in Soviet exports, increasing the specific proportion of high-quality consumer goods in our imports, improving the quality of machines and equipment delivered by other CEMA countries to the USSR and improving their operational servicing. Reciprocal trade in equipment designated for branches responsible for technical progress must be expanded.

The CPSU and the Soviet government consider it to be the international duty of our representatives in the CEMA organs and in international economic organizations, as well as of all participants in the implementation of integration measures--from the minister to the worker--to increase their responsibility for making a concrete contribution to strengthening the economic might of the socialist community. The party, soviet and economic organizations must base their practical activities to develop and strengthen economic and scientific-technical cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries on the theses and conclusions contained in Comrade K. U. Chernenko's speeches and in the documents adopted at the economic conference.

The broad support of the working people for the results of the economic conference of the CEMA member countries held at the highest level and their

full approval of the adopted program documents eloquently testify to the fact that this international duty will be fulfilled with honor.

The Soviet people will have to fulfill great and historically significant tasks by the end of the 20th century. The strategic aims of the 26th CPSU Congress and of subsequent party Central Committee plenums are embodied in both the concrete achievements of the five-year plan and in plans for the future, or, to quote the great Lenin, for the future of "positive community construction and the creation of new economic relations and a new society" ("Poln. Sобр. Soch.," vol 39, p 13).

The new stage of intensifying the integration process within the socialist community will undoubtedly serve to successfully develop the economies of the CEMA countries, further strengthen their unity and cohesion, strengthen the positions of world socialism and ensure universal peace.

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## TOPICAL PROBLEMS OF INTERNATIONAL CULTURAL EXCHANGES AT THE CONTEMPORARY STAGE

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Article by P. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee  
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Text Expanding and deepening relations between various countries in the economic, scientific-technical, cultural and other spheres is an objective requirement of contemporary international development. The development of these relations is in many ways hindered by the complexity and, at times, contradictory nature of interstate relations between countries belonging to opposing social systems.

The June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum emphasized that the struggle in the international arena between two social systems and two diametrically opposed world outlooks has become exacerbated to an unprecedented degree during the entire postwar period. Imperialist reactionaries, primarily the ruling U.S. clique, is pushing mankind to the brink of nuclear catastrophe. A "psychological war," unprecedented in its scale and unbridled nature, is being waged against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

Naturally, the sharp exacerbation of the international situation also has a serious influence upon the nature of cultural exchanges between countries with different social systems. The Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries have not ended cultural exchanges with the capitalist countries even in this complex situation. At the same time, we also cannot ignore the altered conditions and those aims that ruling circles in the West have set for themselves.

On the one hand, the reactionary circles of imperialism use economic pressure and proclaim the policy "from a position of strength."

On the other hand, there exist circles in the West that are interested in preserving economic and trade links with the socialist countries and are aware of the danger and lack of future in the aggressive, militarist course presently pursued by the American administration.

Different political positions and diverse attitudes toward appraising the prospects of world development also cause different approaches in evaluating the role and significance of international cultural cooperation.

It is impossible not to see that the tendency has taken shape in the West to completely subordinate the practice of cultural exchanges to the aims and tasks of the "psychological war" against socialism. At the same time, the role of cultural exchanges as a factor in improving the international atmosphere and building trust between peoples is considerably growing.

In the name of "freedom of culture" and "freedom of cultural exchanges," our ideological enemies try to bring about the ideological erosion of socialism and to spread spiritual products that have nothing in common with real culture. The Soviet people are completely justified in their opposition to foreign films being shown in our country, as well as to the staging of plays, releasing of publications and playingn of music that are reactionary, lacking in ideological content, vulgar and artistically weak.

Striving to poison the international atmosphere, "cold war" forces in the West organize noisy campaigns over individual renegades, openly interfere in the internal affairs of the socialist states, use methods of blackmail, pressure and discrimination, and organize various kinds of provocations with respect to citizens of the socialist countries.

These tactics adopted by forces hostile to socialism and the new tasks that have arisen in the sphere of cultural exchanges were discussed at the 12th Conference of Ministers of Culture from the socialist countries in May 1984 in Hungary. It was emphasized in many of the speeches at the conference that the sphere of culture has become an arena for sharp ideological struggle. The role of coordinating the fraternal countries' activities has grown, as has that of strengthening our cooperation in the sphere of culture so that cultural exchanges with the capitalist countries may play a positive role, fulfill the lofty, humane aims of strengthening peace and building trust between peoples and contribute to the development of an advanced and democratic culture throughout the world.

These aims answer the interests of all peoples. This is clearly testified to by the positive results of cultural exchanges achieved in the 1970s in the conditions of the process of detente and the practical implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems.

The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, held in Helsinki in 1975, was the culmination of this process. The positions developed by the conference opened a path for further strengthening peace in Europe and throughout the world and for developing cooperation between peoples in the economic, political, scientific and cultural spheres.

The ideologists of extreme imperialist reaction developed a frenzied propaganda campaign against the Helsinki conference's Final Act as soon as it was adopted. This is understandable. The materialization of detente impeded

the dissemination of anticommunist, chauvinist and militarist ideology, weakened the influence of the military-industrial corporations and set an obstacle in the path of direct military-political diktat and the imposition of the imperialist powers' will upon other peoples.

The Reagan administration's assumption of power in the United States signified a final renunciation of the detente policy and a revival of the "cold war" against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Reagan declared a new "crusade" against communism. He strives to support with a material nuclear missile basis the idea of struggle against communism as a social system.

All the forces of the reactionary ideological rabble have been mobilized to discredit the great ideals of Marxism-Leninism and vast means have been expended on waging a "psychological war."

This political course has had a very negative influence upon our cultural relations with the United States. Although they have said on more than one occasion that the sphere of culture must remain outside of politics and that culture must be free of any state interference, these demagogic declarations were discarded as soon as the United States adopted a course to undermine detente. The Carter administration refused to conclude a new agreement on cultural exchanges with the Soviet Union. The result of this policy was an almost complete breakdown in these relations.

It is easy to understand the true political situation behind this policy. The significant development of cultural relations between the Soviet Union and the United States during the 1970s struck a tangible blow to those stereotypes formed by anti-Soviet propaganda in the United States. The broad American public's acquaintance with the real achievements of Soviet socialist culture destroyed the anti-Soviet and anticommunist claims that socialism was a kind of spiritual and cultural "desert," which had supposedly resulted from the political government of the Bolsheviks, that there was "an absence of freedom of creativity in the Soviet Union," that the Soviet intelligentsia was "kept down," and so on.

Meanwhile, these myths are extremely dear to American reactionaries. After all, from these myths they extract their arguments "in favor" of struggling against communism.

It is typical that the breakdown of cultural relations with the Soviet Union aroused concern among the sober-minded U.S. public. Many Americans regarded this as a serious loss for the United States itself. Through many private channels, we have received proposals to continue cultural exchanges in some form or another. It has been difficult for us to accept these kinds of proposals, since the American administration has categorically refused to guarantee the safety of our artists and cultural figures. In other words, it has deliberately set obstacles in the way of renewing cultural contacts. This obstructionist line adopted by the American administration was also clearly manifest in connection with the forthcoming 23rd Olympic Games in Los Angeles. An anti-Soviet campaign has been developed by reactionary U.S. circles, with the obvious connivance of official authorities, and chauvinist sentiments have

been inflamed. The administration has adopted a course to use the games for their own political ends. Political demonstrations hostile to the USSR have been prepared and measures adopted to create "intolerable conditions" for the Soviet delegation, and under which the Soviet sportsmen would have to appear. The unceremonious attitude of the American authorities to the Olympic Charter and their blatant flouting of the ideals and traditions of the Olympic movement made the participation of Soviet sportsmen in the 23rd Olympic Games impossible.

Today, the American administration is experiencing ever greater pressure from peace-loving forces and the progressive public, and it can no longer ignore this pressure.

Reagan's desire to don the attire of "peace-maker" is particularly evident in the election campaign developing in the United States. He even says better working relations must be established between the United States and the Soviet Union, relations characterized by increased cooperation and mutual understanding. Actually, the U.S. administration, as Comrade K. U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, noted while answering questions from PRAVDA, "is still banking on military force and on the ability to gain military superiority and impose its systems on other peoples."

As a whole, the French organs of culture also act in support of Soviet-French cultural cooperation. A protocol for a permanent joint Soviet-French commission for cultural relations for 1983-84 was signed in March 1983.

Our cultural relations with the FRG have also become considerably more active.

Thus, we are fully justified in saying that the American administration has not succeeded in vetoing cultural relations and exchanges or in defeating everything positive achieved during the 1970s in the conditions of detente.

The fact that all the main West European capitalist countries have not only not broken off agreements on cultural cooperation with us, but have frequently shown a willingness to activate and broaden this cooperation, says a great deal. This is a specific form of maintaining a certain "distance" from the present course pursued by the United States. As a matter of fact, in breaking off cultural cooperation with the USSR, the United States has taken up a solitary position.

Today, cultural exchanges with the capitalist countries must be organized in such a way that they help as far as possible to ensure a proper understanding of the peace-loving essence of the fraternal socialist countries' policy and to reveal the global danger posed to all peoples by the militarist, aggressive course pursued by reactionary U.S. circles and their NATO allies.

Given contemporary conditions, increasing the effectiveness of cultural cooperation between the fraternal socialist countries and strengthening by joint efforts and in every possible way the principles of socialist ideology and culture and the ideas of socialist internationalism in the consciousness of the broad masses acquires particular significance. The qualitative aspect

of our cultural cooperation and the extensive propaganda of the highest and best achievements of socialist culture is coming to the forefront. In this respect, the changing interests, needs and tastes of the masses, and especially of young people, must be taken into account, as well as the specific features of public psychology that emerges under the conditions of information saturation and sometimes of perceived existing stereotypes of reality.

Socialist society is not insured against the revival in some members of the population of philistine attitudes and attempts to lock themselves away in the narrow world of consumerism and to judge the merits of social systems not in accordance with high social and class ideals, but by proceeding from petty bourgeois standards and a false concept of the "good life." Contemporary bourgeois propaganda attempts to utilize all this for its own class ends. Measures to perfect the ideological education of creative youth were discussed at the 12th Conference of Ministers of Culture from Socialist Countries and major complex measures were planned to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism and Japanese militarism.

Socialist art is called upon to use the means at its disposal to strengthen the communist ideal of the individual, to find reliable ways of profoundly influencing the psychology of the individual, and to form the lofty principles of his awareness. The struggle for the spiritual world of the individual by means of culture and art is perhaps the most subtle "sphere" of the ideological struggle. In this respect, the specific features of national cultural traditions must be taken into account, as must the level of the audience's spiritual development, the features of the political situation in individual countries and the nature of international cultural influences in this or that region.

Much has also still to be done to perfect culture's technical basis, as well as the appropriate external appearance of cultural products, and skillful, effective advertisement.

But the main thing, of course, is creating works with a high ideological and artistic content which, by their quality, relevance and depth, must win a broader and broader international audience.

In the contemporary situation, a well-considered selection of thematic and artistic exhibitions acquires principled significance, as does the process of forming the repertoire of theaters, artistic collectives and soloists going on tour to capitalist countries and saturating this repertoire with topical, ideologically meaningful content. Maximum use must be made of direct contacts with cultural workers at all levels and with the artistic intelligentsia, as well as meetings and talks, symposiums and conferences, and appearances and speeches in the press, on the radio and on television for the purposes of drawing broader and broader circles of the public into the active struggle for peace, democracy and social progress. The role of active contacts with the progressive intelligentsia in the West, expanded ties with young people in capitalist countries, and cultural relations with universities and higher education establishments has increased. The noble ideas of peace and humanitarianism inherent in socialist culture are meeting with an ever broader

and interested response from the world public. This is understandable. Many West European countries greatly benefit from economic, scientific-technical and trade cooperation with the socialist countries. They have no wish to sacrifice their interests to the imperial ambitions of Washington. In many ways, this explains the serious contradictions between the West European capitalist countries and the United States and the internal opposition to the pressure exerted on these countries by their partner on the other side of the ocean.

Of course, we cannot ignore the fact that the submission by certain West European countries to Washington's nuclear strategy has seriously complicated their relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. The ruling circles in the capitalist countries sometimes try to utilize cultural exchanges with the socialist countries for the purpose of appeasing public opinion, presenting these exchanges as evidence of the fact that nothing in particular has really happened. We cannot participate in this kind of game.

There are a considerable number of Western European countries whose public are resolutely opposed to the deployment of new American missiles on their territory. Cultural exchanges with these countries naturally express our active solidarity with the positions of the peace-loving community.

For example, let us take our cultural relations with the FRG. Days of the USSR, which was held in 1983 in Dortmund, in the center of the industrial Ruhr, met with a particularly broad response. The events featured in the program were attended by more than 160,000 people, which is an unprecedented number for the FRG. The large-scale nature of this cultural undertaking attracted not only social and cultural organizations to Days of the USSR, but also heads of government from the land of North Rhine-Westphalia. The prime minister of the land, J. Rau, spoke in support of cooperation between the USSR and the FRG and subjected the country's federal government to sharp criticism for its decision to deploy new American missiles on the territory of the federal republic.

Domestic political changes within the West European countries also have an influence on the development of cultural relations. I have in mind countries such as Spain, Portugal and Greece. The assumption of power by democratic forces opens up scope for expanding and intensifying cultural exchanges.

The liquidation of Franco's regime in Spain, for example, has made it possible to organize broad and interesting cultural exchanges with that country. The Portuguese revolution also signified a fundamental improvement in the development of cultural relations between Portugal and the Soviet Union.

Later, it is true, this process slowed down. In 1980, the reactionary bourgeois government of the "Democratic Alliance" denounced the Agreement on Cooperation in the Sphere of Science and Culture with the USSR. However, the new coalition government in Portugal condemned this denunciation and stated that it would work toward developing cultural relations with the USSR on the basis of a legal interstate treaty.

We maintain diverse cultural relations with Finland, which consistently upholds the principles of detente and peaceful coexistence.

Our cultural relations with Greece also became more active after the Papandreu government assumed power.

A high level of cultural relations is maintained with neutral countries such as Sweden and Austria, which pursue positive and very active foreign policies. At the same time, it seems we cannot remain indifferent to planned actions of an antisocialist trend. It is impossible, for example, not to notice that since the beginning of the 1980s, the program of the Vienna Arts Festival has begun to include antisocialist elements. We cannot help but react to this policy adopted by Vienna's city council. Of course, we are not against the Viennese Festival as such, and are willing to participate in it as long as it is not used as a pretext for carrying out various kinds of political provocations.

I would like to dwell on certain aspects of our cultural relations with Japan. Cultural cooperation is an important factor in maintaining neighborly relations between our countries and peoples. As is well-known, the Nakasone government, dutifully following the lead of American policy, has promised to turn Japan into an "unsinkable U.S. aircraft carrier." We fully comprehend the direction the revived Japanese militarism is taking. It is no secret that the provocation with the South Korean airliner did not just involve the CIA and the South Korean special services. The Japanese special services also had a hand, of course. It is no accident that anti-Soviet hysteria was whipped up there with all available forces and means. In spite of this, a festival of Russian and Soviet art, the largest in the entire history of Soviet-Japanese relations, was in progress in Japan at the time. It is significant that no one managed to wreck a single concert or a single performance of the Soviet artists on tour in Japan. They played to packed halls despite all the appeals by Japanese reactionaries to boycott them.

Building an atmosphere of trust and mutual understanding between peoples acquires great significance in contemporary conditions. In this respect, the activities of foreign societies of friendship with the USSR in countries such as Italy, France, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Austria, the FRG, Portugal, the Netherlands and others should be noted. They help organize tours of Soviet creative collectives and soloists, as well as exhibitions, and implement complex measures that cater to a mass audience.

Increased public interest in the different art forms and genres should also be taken into account. In recent years, for example, a definite change has been observed in the attitude toward Soviet graphic art. We have taken this factor into account in our cultural exchanges. In 1983, the overwhelming majority of exhibitions sent to countries in the West consisted of Soviet graphic art, including a number of exhibits by individual artists. An even greater number of projects are planned for 1984. A major exhibition of Russian and Soviet graphic art was held in Paris recently with great success.

An important cultural event soon to take place will be the "D. Shostakovich Festival" in the FRG, to which the whole of the 1984-85 season in Duisburg

will be devoted. We attach great significance to this festival because not only will it be a means of spreading the creativity of Dmitriy Dmitriyevich Shostakovich and of Soviet musical culture as a whole, but it will also serve the cause of exposing attempts to distort the true civic face of this eminent Soviet composer.

The international class solidarity of workers in all countries is an active force in the struggle for peace. Strengthening this solidarity is our common duty, and we are doing a great deal that is positive in this sphere through culture. At the request of friends, we have sent our artists and artistic collectives to participate in festivals arranged by the newspapers L'UNITA in Italy, L'HUMANITE in France, VOLKSTIMME in Austria, LAND OG FOLK in Denmark, VOIX OUVRIERE in Switzerland, AVANTE in Portugal, and UNSERE ZEIT in the FRG, as well as in mass youth demonstrations in France, the "Women for Peace" congress in Sweden and other undertakings.

The growth of the antiwar movement in Western Europe and North America sets new tasks before us. Ever broader masses in all countries and on all continents are rising to fill the ranks of the supporters of peace. At the same time, more effective ties with the mass peace movements must be sought and found.

In other words, a political rather than commercial approach in cultural exchanges is now coming to the fore. This circumstance forces us to perfect the old tried-and-trusted forms of working within the system of cultural relations with foreign countries as well as to seek new ones.

Cultural relations with the developing countries have now become an arena for acute ideological struggle. The "theoreticians" of cultural imperialism try to justify flooding the developing countries with low-standard cultural products and squeezing out the democratic cultural traditions of various peoples.

However, the process of independent cultural development in the Asian, African and Latin American countries is acquiring a deeper and deeper anti-imperialist nature. The real basis of this process is the peoples' struggle for their freedom and against the aggressive policies of imperialism. The developing countries now exert an ever more appreciable influence upon the course of world events.

The socialist countries strive actively to assist the flourishing of the peoples' national democratic cultures and the development of their progressive traditions. We give vital aid to the developing countries in training national cadres and in passing on experience by increasing the number of cultural-educational work and library matters, as well as by increasing the quota of cultural workers sent to the USSR from these countries, increasing delegation exchanges and so forth.

The anti-imperialist trend in the liberated countries' cultural development is now very apparent. In this respect, the situation that has developed within UNESCO is significant.

In recent years, UNESCO has noticeably stepped up its activities aimed at radically improving the international situation in the interests of peace and progress. Important documents and decisions strengthening and developing this positive trend in its work were adopted at the fourth extraordinary session of the UNESCO General Conference convened in 1982.

UNESCO's activities, which answer the interests of all mankind's spiritual progress, meet the requirements of its statute and are based on generally recognized democratic principles--the principles of equality, cooperation, and mutual trust. These principles are incompatible with any manifestations of hegemonism, racism, diktat and the forcing of one's political and cultural standards upon other peoples. They express the vital interests of all peoples and affirm their equal participation in resolving those key problems of cultural progress which face contemporary mankind.

At the same time, the struggle centering on the main directions of the activities of a whole series of international organizations within the UN system has also been acutely exacerbated under the contemporary conditions of the considerable conditions of the considerable aggravation of international tension which has risen, primarily through the fault of the American administration.

It is impossible not to see that UNESCO's active struggle for peace and disarmament, against colonialism and racism, for the formation of a new information system, and against cultural imperialism is not at all to the liking of the United States and its closest allies. Since the United States was unable to force its own aims on UNESCO, it decided to embark upon the path of open, unconcealed blackmail. The United States' decision to withdraw from UNESCO on 31 December 1984 was a manifestation of this.

This decision testifies to the fact that the United States does not have any convincing arguments against the main substance of UNESCO's activities.

Let us take, for example, UNESCO's activities directed against information and cultural imperialism. The facts and figures are now well-known, which testify to the real subordination of the mass information media and of the means of disseminating culture in the developing countries, and not only in them, to the largest monopolistic associations. This leads to foreign dominance in the spiritual sphere, impedes the adequate formation of national awareness, and establishes false standards for perceiving world events and for understanding the aims and tasks of internal development.

As is well known, as early as the beginning of the 1970s, representatives of the developing states in UNESCO naturally began to turn attention to the imbalance on the flow of information and to raising the problem of forming a new world system in this sphere. The Declaration on the Mass Information Media adopted by UNESCO in 1978 reflected the interests of the developing countries and, at the same time, served the general cause of strengthening trust and mutual understanding between peoples.

UNESCO's position is definite: It confirms the necessity for free and balanced flow of information and is opposed to inciting war, encouraging racism and arousing hatred between peoples.

The Reagan administration condemns UNESCO's activities while advancing demands for absolute freedom of information. It is obvious that here the question is one of attempts to hold onto dominating positions in the international information system and to spread freely concepts justifying the arms race and preparation for a new world war, neocolonialism and racism. In actual fact, the administration proceeds from the flimsy premise that the legitimate aspiration of all peoples to have their own developed mass information media and their own sources of information independent of the leading foreign agencies supposedly runs counter to the principle of "freedom." In accordance with this logic, not all peoples have the right to freedom of information or, incidentally, to freedom generally, but only a few select who are called upon by historical fate itself to lead the whole world. Freedom of culture is also treated in the same way.

UNESCO is also accused of excessively "politicizing" its activities and "departing" from statutory principles and the ideals of the struggle for "human rights."

Meanwhile, it is clearly recorded in the UNESCO statute that it "sets itself the task of helping to strengthen peace and security by means of broadening cooperation between peoples in the sphere of education, science and culture." No one can accuse UNESCO of adopting its decisions in an undemocratic way.

However, UNESCO's democratic position, which adequately reflects the point of view of the world community, is said to be "one-sided." If one is to follow this logic, then the imperialist ambitions of the American administration should be considered free of one-sidedness and political biases.

As far as the noble ideals of the struggle for human rights are concerned, it is difficult to relate the declaration of these rights by the United States and some other Western countries to their direct connivance at mass repressions, their implementation of terrorism at a state level with regard to entire peoples in the Middle East, in the Republic of South Africa, in some Latin American countries, and in other regions and their open manifestations of vandalism and genocide.

Noisy campaigns "in defense" of individual renegades and criminal elements cannot seriously be regarded as a struggle for human rights. In actual fact, they are nothing more than an attempt to defend those who embark upon the path of violating the legal norms accepted by sovereign states.

If UNESCO were to recognize as competent that "logic," if one may call it such, by which the United States and some other Western countries are guided, it would lose its truly universal nature and would come into obvious conflict with the generally recognized principles upon which the work of the United Nations and UNESCO are based.

Another target must also be seen in the actions directed against UNESCO, namely the United Nations. A situation has taken shape within the United Nations which is no less, if not more critical for the present ruling U.S. circles than that within UNESCO. If blackmail with regard to UNESCO is crowned with success, then the United States can use this method with regard to other subdivisions of the United Nations.

In order to understand the possible "continuations" of this blackmail, we must turn to the ideological sources which inspire the incumbent American administration in its actions.

It is easy to observe that in many ways, these actions are determined by the ideological concepts put forward by reactionary research organizations such as the Heritage Foundation, which has become an original "brain center" for the right wing of the Republican Party.

The "works" of this organization against UNESCO make far-fetched accusations and contain threats that the United States will abandon UNESCO if it does not make "radical changes."

Energetic attacks are also made upon organizations such as the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD).

It is typical that the ideologists of the Heritage Foundation attack the United Nations as a whole on a broad front for the fact that it actively engages in the problems of disarmament and of establishing a new economic order, opposes racism and gives support to national liberation movements.

We must not appraise the existing situation as a manifestation of UNESCO's "acute crisis" or artificially dramatize the situation as the United States and its closest allies do. It is clear that we are not dealing with a crisis within UNESCO, but with a crisis in attempts to pursue and imperialist policy through the medium of UNESCO. The overwhelming majority of countries have expressed their support for UNESCO's present course. It is also significant that the Reagan administration's decision has aroused serious opposition in the United States itself.

It would be wrong to consider Washington's political move merely from narrow financial positions. The United States' financial contribution to UNESCO's budget is considerable, and losing this cannot help but affect the work of the organization. This is what those reactionary imperialist circles are gambling on that are pushing for UNESCO to forgo its fundamental principles for the sake of retaining the American contribution. But in this case, there is a real danger that UNESCO could collapse because, if UNESCO is forced to dance to Washington's tune, participating in its work could lose its meaning for the majority of countries.

The fraternal socialist countries occupy a principled position on this matter. We must actively support those measures adopted by the leading UNESCO organs for the purpose of neutralizing the actions undertaken by the United States. It is possible to reconcile oneself to a reduction in some of UNESCO's

programs and to the necessity for a more rigid economy, but it is not to be borne that UNESCO should lose its universal nature or that the peoples of the world should have a will thrust upon them with which they cannot agree for reasons of principle.

This is now written about and considerably discussed both in our country and in the world press, on radio and television, by authoritative cultural workers, figures in science and the arts, writers, pedagogues and prominent representatives of the public.

The course of contemporary international cultural development is closely bound up with the struggle of principles of world outlook to determine the ideological and social direction of culture and art. The ideological foundations and prerequisites of creative activity and the problems of disseminating culture and of cultural cooperation will be at the center of attention of the cultural forum that will be held in accordance with the decision of the Madrid conference in the autumn of 1984 in Budapest. The forum is called upon to assist the positive aims of cultural cooperation.

Bourgeois ideologists are now actively spreading the concept of a so-called "global crisis" in culture. They consider the sources of this crisis to lie in the scientific-technical revolution and in the appearance and extensive spreading of the mass information media, which supposedly inevitably leads to the appearance of low-standard mass culture on the one hand, and in the general alienation and loss of spiritual unity and mutual understanding between people on the other.

Some theoreticians even speak of an original "battle" between technology and culture under contemporary conditions and of the necessity to form a popular "credo" appropriate to contemporary conditions by means of culture that the most diverse people could share. In this respect, culture is interpreted as the creation of certain symbolic forms capable of defining the sensible foundations of human existence.

Actually, these kinds of positions do not reflect a global crisis in culture as a whole, but a crisis in the ideological foundations of bourgeois culture. This crisis is clearly manifest in the various trends of modernism, which is characterized by a negation of the general humanist principles of culture, by an assertion of the subjective arbitrariness of the artist and by a justification of original anti-art and anticulture.

Bourgeois theoreticians try to prove that the social evil of the contemporary world is rooted in man's very nature and that the humanitarian traditions of progressive democratic culture inevitably lead him into a spiritual cul-de-sac, engendering mankind's profound moral crisis.

They believe that the way out of this crisis lies in a new "religious renaissance" that would supposedly be capable of breathing new life into common ideals and of giving man hope of salvation in the contemporary world, which is fraught with the most acute social conflicts and with the threat of nuclear catastrophe.

However, religious revival cannot be a true foundation of contemporary culture. Religious fanaticism leads to anti-intellectualism and to a struggle against a scientific world and science. It inevitably becomes a brake on scientific-technical progress. Religion cannot open up real ways of resolving the key social problems of the contemporary era. What is more, the forces of reaction try to utilize the religious prejudices of the masses to justify their militarist, aggressive policies and to present matters in such a way that the nuclear wars they are now preparing appear to be none other than the fatal fulfillment of biblical prophesies. The sources of the crisis in contemporary bourgeois culture lie not in man's nature or in the scientific-technical revolution, but are to be found in anticommunist policies and in the renunciation of humanitarianism and progress. Building up an atmosphere of fear, intimidating people with the so-called "Soviet threat," attempting to deprive man of the will to struggle for peace and for a better future, and forcing various kinds of false alternatives on people--all these are typical methods used by contemporary anticommunism, which tries to subordinate the awareness of the masses to its influence. The culture and mass information media and gambling on religious prejudices are used extensively for the purpose of fulfilling this aim.

Of course, the participation of many religious figures in the struggle for peace and for the salvation of life on earth should not be dismissed. The noble aims of this struggle now unite people irrespective of their differences in world outlook. However it is also impossible not to see that religious fundamentalism is the soil upon which the reactionary ideology of extreme right-wing forces in contemporary capitalist society grows.

Only culture based upon the foundations of a scientific world outlook and upon the principles of humanitarianism, and the equality of all peoples gives man a true orientation in the contemporary world. It helps to form a sense of great responsibility in every individual for the historic fate of contemporary civilization. It is precisely this progressive democratic culture that has become the leading spiritual force of the contemporary era.

The experience of developing socialist society convincingly proves that the flourishing of a democratic culture based upon the principles of humanism and the lofty ideals of peace, social progress, and communism is a real prerequisite for elevating man, forming his active civic positions and uniting people in the struggle for common aims, the fulfillment of which ensures the progressive movement of the whole of mankind.

Figures in Soviet culture and art firmly uphold the positions of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook that organically connects the cause of all socialist culture with the cause of the Great October Revolution, which paved the way to building the most progressive society, and with the cause of the Leninist party and the Soviet people. In this organic connection lies the guarantee of new historic achievements by socialist culture and of the deepening of its influence upon social life and upon the course of historical development.

The drummers of anticommunism presumptuously assume that by relying on force, imperialism will succeed in its desire to see "Marxism-Leninism end up on the ash heap of history." However, the historical future does not belong to those

who today irresponsibly brandish nuclear bombs, sowing fear and hatred everywhere. The historical future belongs to those forces which confirm in actual deeds the noble principles of peace and security and cooperation between all peoples.

No one will succeed in tearing from the hands of the Soviet people the victorious banner of Marxism-Leninism that was raised above our country by the Great October Revolution.

As Comrade K. U. Chernenko emphasized at his meeting with workers from the Moscow Serp i Molot Metallurgical Plant, "We saw our revolution through to the end, defended it and built socialism--and now we are implementing gigantic plans for developing the country and for further improving the life of the people. We do not impose our world outlook or our social system upon anyone. And we have no need of foreign lands. The Soviet Union sincerely proposes one path alone--the path of peaceful coexistence, the path of mutually advantageous international cooperation."

This is now the only positive path that answers the fundamental interests of all peoples on earth.

Preserving peace on earth, building an atmosphere of mutual trust and cooperation, and creating the conditions for mutual enrichment by means of cultural values--these noble aims also lie at the basis of the policy of cultural exchanges which the Leninist party and the Soviet state consistently pursue. We will do everything necessary for these aims to be given full expression in the real practice of international cultural cooperation.

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## SOME QUESTIONS OF ENHANCING THE PEOPLE'S MATERIAL WELL-BEING

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Article by I. Kapitonov, CPSU Central Committee secretary

Text The CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Comrade K. U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, have set the task of imparting new and still broader scope to the multifaceted work that our party is doing to satisfy the Soviet people's growing requirements for industrial goods and services.

The good of man and the good of the people--these are the supreme values toward which the Communist Party and the Soviet state have directed and are directing all economic and political activity. When drawing up our party's first program, V. I. Lenin advanced a thesis according to which production under socialism must develop "to ensure the full well-being and free comprehensive development of all members of society" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." Complete Collected Works, vol 6, p 232).

The systematic resolution of social tasks is based on the sound foundation of the steadily developing socialist economy.

At the contemporary stage, too, the enhancement of the people's well-being remains a very important program demand of the CPSU and constitutes the heart of its socioeconomic policy. This has found expression in the guidelines of the 26th CPSU Congress and subsequent Central Committee plenums and in the resolutions adopted in accordance with them on increasing the production and improving the quality of consumer goods and improving trade, public catering and consumer services for the population. Comrade K. U. Chernenko's brilliant and profoundly reasoned speech at the CPSU Central Committee April 1984 Plenum was imbued with concern for man and for the comprehensive development of the individual under socialism.

In our time, at the stage of mature socialism, utilizing its advantages and increased potential in practice means still further subordinating the development of social production to the fullest satisfaction of people's material and spiritual requirements and to the implementation of the CPSU line

aimed at overcoming class differences, reinforcing social homogeneity, further strengthening our society's unity and improving the socialist way of life.

It should be noted with satisfaction that our working people's living standards are continuously rising. Let us take the population's monetary income, for example. It has now doubled compared with 1970. In the majority of families, the per capita income now stands at more than 100 rubles a month. There has been a great increase in public consumption funds. Each of the social groups in our society now has a considerably higher income and opportunities for consumption and for chargeable and free services than 15 to 20 years ago and, even more so, than 30 to 40 years ago. Great changes have occurred in the life of people both in large cities and industrial centers and in the countryside, and in small and medium-sized population centers. There has been an appreciable rapprochement in the living standards in various parts of the country and in different social, age and professional groups; it is important that this rapprochement is taking place against the background of an overall steady growth in the people's well-being.

Soviet society has resolved or is close to resolving many problems of well-being. Everyone knows what tremendous work is being done in the country to improve the supply of foodstuffs to the population.

The positive results of implementing the Food Program are truly being felt. More and more diverse goods are being put on sale. The provision of housing is steadily growing. Apartments are being fitted with modern consumer equipment. In this connection, the tasks of improving the quality of well-being, and in the broadest sense of the word--ranging from improving the consumer properties of the goods produced and services rendered to substantial changes in the structure of consumption--are being highlighted.

Our party and the Soviet state devote great attention to developing the industrial goods production for the population. Thus, in 1983, production capital in light industry had doubled compared with 1970. Large specialized enterprises and shops for the production of cultural-consumer and household goods have been created in the group "A" sectors. Local industry is growing at a high pace. Nonfood goods worth more than 160 billion were produced last year. Their proportion in the overall volume of consumer goods production is increasing steadily, and sales have doubled compared with 1970.

At the same time, the population's growing effective demand is still not being fully met. This requires constant and increasingly persistent work to overcome the shortages of goods and services and to achieve a balance between supply and demand. Accelerated progress along this path will help to improve the effectiveness of material labor incentives and contribute to the successful realization of the social program. The advantages of the socialist way of life will be revealed still more fully, and the authority and prestige of the society of developed socialism will be enhanced in the world arena.

It is understandable that for the purposes of more fully saturating the domestic market with goods, it is necessary to make better use of the strong production potential and all of our economic possibilities. In the plans for the 11th Five-Year Plan and for 1984, this task is concretized for each sector

of the national economy, republic, kray, oblast and each enterprise. The volume of industrial goods production is to be appreciably increased this year.

The work results for the first 5 months show that there are good preconditions for successfully fulfilling the state plan. Goods worth 3.8 billion rubles were produced over and above the plan. Their production increased 4.2 percent compared with the corresponding period last year. All the republics and ministries (except the Ministry of Machine Building for Animal Husbandry and Fodder Production) fulfilled their targets both for the total volume of their production and per ruble of the wage fund. The highest results were achieved in industry in the Ukraine, Belorussia, Estonia, the Chuvash ASSR, and Leningrad, Voronezh, and Saratov oblasts.

The positive trends that have been noted embody the upsurge of the masses' labor activeness, the further strengthening of order and organization and the purposeful work of labor collectives, party, soviet and economic organs and public organizations.

Unfortunately, it must be pointed out that certain ministries and departments, union republics and oblasts, production associations and enterprises are still working below their potential, do not fulfill targets for consumer goods production and do not ensure the products list prescribed in the plans. Failures occur even with regard to those types of goods for which targets are defined in CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolutions. Of 98 basic necessities and items in mass demand, the targets were not fulfilled for 24 types during the 5 months. The greatest lag occurred at enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Light Industry, the Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry, and the Ministry of Machine Building for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances, as well as in the Kazakh, Armenian, and Kirghiz union republics.

Certain party committees and soviet and economic organs apparently do not notice or do not attach proper significance to the fact that the average, satisfactory indicators conceal the chronic backwardness of many enterprises, whose leaders have resigned themselves to the situation that has been created. More than 12 percent of associations and enterprises in light industry failed to fulfill the output sales plan during the 5 months. And there were just as many in other sectors. Of course, each of them clearly has its own problems and difficulties. Economic management organs and party committees must work all the more persistently to ensure the stable operation of enterprises and mobilize the creative forces of labor collectives that fail to fulfill the plan in order to eliminate laggardness and guarantee the unconditional fulfillment of state targets. As the saying goes, it is necessary to take personal stock of every laggard enterprise and enhance its work.

A very important aspect of plan discipline, on whose observance the party is making increasingly strict demands, is the fulfillment of contractual pledges. The situation here remains unsatisfactory. In 1983, the plan for the production of cultural-consumer and household goods was fulfilled by 101 percent, while their delivery to trade was fulfilled by only 96 percent. Despite the measures being taken, the number of enterprises failing to fulfill

their contractual pledges is being reduced only slowly. The situation must be fundamentally improved. Here high exactingness must be displayed not only toward enterprises, but also toward material and technical supply organs, transportation, and all components of the national economy and management that are called upon to ensure the uninterrupted and smooth flow of industry.

Union republic Communist Party Central Committees, party kraykoms and obkoms, ministries and departments and soviet, economic and public organizations must draw proper conclusions from work results from principled positions, remove the existing shortcomings more quickly, undo bottlenecks and build up the pace for the purpose of unconditionally fulfilling the annual plan and socialist pledges. "...When the plan has become law," Comrade K. U. Chernenko emphasized at the April 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "It is necessary to respect, observe, and strictly fulfill it. And this is not just a question of economic discipline. It is a question of party and political responsibility."

Specialized production accounts for the bulk of consumer goods. It includes light industry, group "A" and local industry enterprises and shops, and an extensive network of scientific, planning and design organizations. In all, more than 7 million people are employed in this production, and the existing production, scientific and technical potential must be utilized for the maximum return.

Certain ministries and departments, party organizations and labor collectives in Moscow, Leningrad, Sverdlovsk and many industrial centers in the RSFSR, the Ukraine, Belorussia, Estonia and other republics are working comprehensively and purposefully on this. Over the past 3 years, over 2,000 more enterprises and associations have been involved in the production of goods. Many new products that were not produced before have gone on sale.

In short, there is the valuable experience of resolving the problems of increasing consumer good production in many regions and sectors. However, it would be correct to turn our attention to unresolved questions, bottlenecks and reserves. Take an indicator such as the utilization of capacities. Even in light industry, where the equipment loading level is generally comparatively high, capacities for the production of cotton fabrics are being 57 percent utilized in the Uzbek SSR, 77 percent in the Kirghiz SSR and 80 percent in the Azerbaijan SSR. Newly created capacities are being assimilated only slowly in the sector. A similar situation is also to be observed at a number of Group "A" enterprises.

At the Cherepovets Metallurgical Combine, for example, capacities for the production of goods are being 75 percent utilized, at the "Voroshilovgradteplovoz" Production Association, 70 percent, and the USSR Nonferrous Metallurgy Ministry's Kolchugino Nonferrous Metals Processing Plant, 60 percent. Thus, the full utilization of production capacities constitutes a tremendous reserve for increasing production of the industrial goods that the population needs.

This situation regarding the utilization of capacities did not come about yesterday in a number of places, but has existed for a long time. However, by

all accounts, it does not cause alarm either among the leaders of the corresponding ministries or among the party committees. Yet we are talking of reserves that can be commissioned without any capital expenditure.

It also cannot be considered normal that the proportion of goods being produced does not exceed 3 percent of the total output in certain machine-building sectors. Their production per ruble of the wage fund stands at 9-14 kopeks. The leaders of sectors and enterprises must radically alter their approach to organizing consumer goods production. As experience shows, it cannot be efficient without creating specialized shops. However, in the system of the Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building, for example, only 6 percent of the enterprises producing goods have them, and in the Ministry of Heavy and Transport Building, 12 percent. The lack of design and technological services at many enterprises for the development and assimilation of new commodities also has an effect.

The CPSU Central Committee April Plenum emphasized the need to increase the soviets' responsibility for more fully satisfying the working people's needs, expanding the production of consumer goods and improving their quality. They must make fuller use of the rights granted them to involve all enterprises in the production of goods, regardless of their departmental allegiance. Soviet organs must jointly tackle this work with ministries in a concrete way in every region.

The soviets are obliged to do everything necessary to increase the production of goods in local industry. The structure of this sector and the nature of enterprise management make it possible to promptly reorganize production for the output of articles in accordance with the customers' requirements. It must be oriented more toward producing consumer goods, and fuller use must be made of production waste and local raw materials. Republic councils of ministers and local soviet ispolkoms must show more concern for attracting pensioners and housewives into this sector and developing forms of work at home.

The consumer goods market is appreciably supplemented by consumer services enterprises, which manufactures clothing, footwear, furniture and other articles needed by the population to an approximate value of 3 billion rubles during the year. The potential for increasing the output of goods in the consumer cooperative system has been far from exhausted. Providing the population with goods from among the "1,000 trifles" entirely depends on the initiative and enterprise of local soviets. However, what sometimes happens in practice? In Armenia, for example, the simplest things are in short supply. Simple wooden articles are imported by Irkutsk Oblast, from Arkhangelsk and other distant places.

Experience shows that such questions, as well as more complex ones, can and must be successfully resolved locally. Thus, in Saratov Oblast, all enterprises are involved in producing goods. For each of the 116 enterprises that had not produced these goods previously, schedules were determined for the preparation of production and the range of products was agreed upon with the trading organizations. Party control was established over the progress in

fulfilling the planned measures. As a result, the shortage, involving 75 different goods, were overcome.

Considerable reserves are hidden in the further improvement of the utilization of raw materials, supplies and labor resources. This must be organized so that the struggle for an above-plan increase in labor productivity and an additional reduction in prime production costs is relentlessly waged in every collective.

It should be most definitely stated that the quality of goods remains our weakest point. Much has been said and written about this problems, and it has been given extensive coverage. Therefore, in this article I will primarily dwell on those questions which the party's Central Committee is focusing its attention on.

At his meeting with the workers of Moscow's "Serp i Molot" Plant, Comrade K. U. Chernenko said: "Questions of the quality of housing, goods and services are not only economic and production issues, but social questions as well. They directly affect the interests of millions of people. Of course, high quality depends on many components. And yet the worker's attitude toward the matter--the worker's conscience, I would say--occupies one of the first places."

Indeed, how can you talk about quality at the Gorkiy Footwear Production Association, for example, if technological discipline is violated there in the performance of every second operation. Unfortunately, such cases are not isolated instances. In light industry as a whole, as much as 6-8 percent of certain types of products are downgraded and returned for repair due to defects in production. In 1983, complaints were made about more than 10 percent of the refrigerators manufactured at Ministry of Radio Industry plants and 15 percent of the color television sets produced by enterprises of the Ministry of General Machine Building.

It is necessary to instill proper order in production and erect a reliable barrier to the output of spoiled goods. There can be no two opinions about this.

The party Central Committee and the government have recently adopted a number of resolutions aimed at the accelerated resolution of issues of improving the quality of goods being produced. Material incentives have been introduced for increasing the production of goods with the state seal of quality and the index "N." It has been made possible to recoup the additional costs of producing newly assimilated products by means of temporarily introduced markups.

The well-known initiative--approved by the CPSU Central Committee--of the collectives of six enterprises which initiated the competition for the high quality of goods has received wide dissemination. More than 2,000 enterprises are already participating in this movement. The socialist competition for improved output quality must be further developed. We recently visited the leading enterprises of Moscow's "Zarya" Footwear Association--one of the initiators of the competition. Its effectiveness can clearly be seen there.

A pleasant impression is left by the enterprising way in which the "Zarya" workers work and the opportune way they resolve long-term problems. The footwear they produce is in increased demand by customers.

Our industry is increasing the production of goods representing a qualitatively new stage in terms of their functional potential, aesthetic value and other parameters. Moscow and Minsk refrigerators, Kishinev semiautomatic washing machines, "Rekord" and "Rubin" television sets, vacuum cleaners of Leningrad's "Elektrosila" Association and other products have received high marks from consumers.

However, many types of consumer equipment (in terms of indicators for energy consumption and materials-intensiveness and convenience of operation) are considerably inferior to the best world models.

In particular, this applies to individual electric heaters produced by enterprises of the Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry, bicycles and motorcycles of the Ministry of the Automotive Industry and typewriters of the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment and Control Systems.

Concern is aroused by the fact that during the year only 6-8 percent of the cultural-consumer and household goods being produced were updated. Certain ministries have relaxed their monitoring of enterprises' work in creating new goods and improving their range. Associations and plants of the Ministry of Shipbuilding Industry, for example, produce more than 300 types of goods assimilated prior to 1975. Many of them are not purchased by the trade system. Obsolete models and styles of clothing and footwear are continuing to be produced in the Light Industry Ministry. It is necessary to put a decisive end to the production of goods that do not sell and to take immediate measures to radically reorganize the enterprises whose output is not in demand and piles up in warehouses.

The main direction here is to pursue a considered product range policy. It is necessary to strengthen cooperation between production and trade with a view to fully satisfying the customers' diverse needs. When concluding contracts between enterprises in those spheres, they must orient themselves toward tomorrow's needs and fashions, work with a view to the long term, provide for an annual updating of goods and improve their quality. Here it is important not only to study, but also to shape the population's demand for goods.

Direct-sale stores are an effective means of studying public demand in depth; they are a kind of laboratory for evaluating new products. There are more than 600 of them now. The stores of the Ministries of Light Industry, Instrument Making, Automation Equipment and Control Systems, Radio Industry and Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Alma-Ata, Yerevan and Kazan have shown themselves to advantage. It is necessary to continue developing more actively this progressive form of direct work between industrial enterprises and customers. We must not remain content with the fact that only 31 stores of this type have been newly created in the 11th Five-Year Plan. Some of them count only formally as direct-sale stores, work poorly in terms of the range of goods and are poorly supplied with equipment and technical means.

There are grounds for making serious complaints against ministries for the quality, reliability and technical standards of products. Party and government resolutions have made 30 ministries responsible for developing and introducing new types of goods into production and for implementing a unified technical policy in the country.

In practice, the implementation of the head ministries' functions demands initiative and persistence. The Ministry of the Communications Equipment Industry purposefully tackles this work. A special subdepartment has been set up there. The volumes and introduction times for new goods, deliveries of products and materials as well as measures for the standardization of output have been determined in conjunction with allied ministries. A program of comprehensive standardization has been approved for the period 1981-1985. Measures have been elaborated jointly with the USSR Ministry of Trade to study demand and to advertise new goods. Some 27 direct sales stores have been opened in cooperation with the ministries producing domestic radioelectronic apparatus. All this indicates that serious work is being done to fulfill the CPSU Central Committee resolution adopted following a report by the Ministry of the Communications Equipment Industry.

However, many ministries still inadequately tackle the resolution of urgent questions. There is unjustified duplication in the production of equipment, expressed in the production of numerous models with identical consumer properties.

For example, 53 models of refrigerators, 30 electric razors, 24 electric vacuum cleaners and 17 washing machines are currently in production and they are inadequately standardized.

The improvement of the quality and range of goods is being held up to a considerable extent because of the shortage of new types of raw materials, chemical supplies and subassemblies. Of course, we are operating under real economic conditions. Even so, these questions could be resolved with greater persistence on the part of the goods manufacturers themselves in work with subcontractors. Much depends on the USSR Gosplan, the Gosnab and other central departments. As a rule, joint concerted work ensures the success of the matter. However, when there is no coordination, all sorts of distortions occur. I will cite the following example.

Several years ago, a large plant was constructed in the city of Kirov to produce 300,000 automatic washing machines a year. However, the Ministry of Machine Building for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances, the central planning organs and the interested ministries and departments did not opportunely weigh all the circumstances of the production and operation of the "Vyatka-Avtomat" machines and, in addition, manifested totally unwarranted tardiness. As a result, almost one-fourth of all the washing machines produced have piled up in the trade, and only one-third of the plant's capacities are being utilized. Essential measures have been outlined recently with a view to overcoming the situation, but they are being poorly implemented. More decisive intervention is required from the appropriate organizations.

The improvement of the quality and range of industrial goods is inseparably linked with the scientific development. It makes a significant contribution to the development and assimilation of new products. However, people's increased aspirations and the needs of production are setting increasingly complex and responsible tasks for scientific and design organizations. Let us state frankly that they do not all work at the level of life's requirements and the tasks of accelerating technical progress.

When developing and assimilating new products, certain institutes frequently use existing models as guidelines. Thus technical laggardness begins at the planning stage. In 1983, for example, the Central Scientific Research Institute of the Wood Industry of the USSR Ministry of Light Industry completed the development of 25 new varieties of fabrics. But 11 of them were rejected by the ministry's aesthetic commission, and an equal number of fabrics were not purchased at the wholesale trade fair for 1984. In short, the institute was working to no avail. Unfortunately, these are not isolated cases.

It is necessary to take a more exacting approach to the activity of scientific research institutes and specialists and assess their work according to the end results--the models of goods created that the public wants and meet its requirements. We must ensure that a new product fully accords only with the top quality category by the time it goes into series production. Sectoral science and academy science must closely collaborate on long-term questions of satisfying the population's growing needs for goods. It is necessary to accelerate research into socioeconomic problems of production and consumption at the stage of developed socialism, as well as the shaping of sensible needs. The methods of forecasting require in-depth elaboration.

The USSR State Committee for Science and Technology and the State Standards Committee are doing an important thing by pooling the efforts of sectors in implementing targeted programs for the development of new technologies and goods, the equipment for their production and the comprehensive standardization of output. This practice should be extended, embracing new directions of scientific and technical progress. It is expedient for these state committees to envisage measures ensuring monitoring of the work of the people who perform this function at all stages and to raise the level of standards from the raw material to the finished product.

With a view to improving the range and quality of consumer goods, trade enterprises must take a more active stand, as they are closest of all to the consumers and must take their needs more fully into account. Trade must be an exacting customer. On the other hand, trade organizations must take a more responsible attitude toward their own claims.

As is known, much is being done in the sphere of trade and consumer services for the population to ensure that the goods produced reach the consumers on schedule and with fully preserved quality. The target set for commodity turnover in 1984 stands at 322.5 billion rubles, which is 5.4 percent more than last year. This is a tough but realistic plan. In the first quarter it was not only fulfilled but overfulfilled. Goods worth more than 260 million

rubles were sold over and above the plan for the total volume of commodity turnover. Then, however, a lag occurred with regard to this indicators. It is necessary to step up organizational and political work to realize the measures set forth in the Central Committee resolution, take additional measures and ensure the unconditional fulfillment of the plan targets for commodity turnover.

Trading organizations are slow to reorganize their work with regard to changes in the market situation. The adherence of certain workers to the forms and methods of selling goods that arose under conditions of scarcity is still tenacious. It is known that even today there are still not enough of a number of goods to fully meet demand, and yet the stocks of many types of goods in the trade even exceed the normatives! In this situation, precisely the ability to trade in a new way and to control competently commodity resources is of great significance. It is intolerable when products that are plentiful in warehouses and bases or that are just lying in neighboring regions are not to be found on sale. This increases the strain on providing the population with consumer goods.

It cannot be said that trade workers do not see ways to improve services. They are taking measures to enhance the role of the wholesale link and to organize commodity movement. The sale of technically complex goods, clothing, footwear and textiles is increasingly being concentrated in department stores and large specialized stores. Self-service and other forms of trade convenient for the population are being developed. However, there are still many reserves here.

The development of commission trade in industrial goods as well as the increasing of sales of articles in everyday demand in department stores and self-service foodstores merit greater attention. The work regime of trade and consumer services enterprises needs to be further put in order. Some of them are still open at times inconvenient for working people. The low standard of services gives rise to many just complaints.

All these issues must be constantly in the field of view of local party and soviet organs. It is primarily these that are obliged to investigate on a daily basis and in detail the state of the population's provision with goods and services at each trade and consumer services organization and in each population center and to take very vigorous measures to instill order in this important matter.

Construction workers must make a sizeable contribution to resolving the tasks of increasing consumer goods production in the remainder of the 11th Five-Year Plan. Today's construction site is tomorrow's goods. This year alone it is planned to commission more than 150 projects for the production of cotton, fabrics, hosiery, radio and television sets, bicycles, vacuum cleaners, washing machines and other products.

They were expounded in the recently published CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution. These questions were discussed at a conference at the CPSU Central Committee.

What should attention be directed toward first? At USSR Ministry of Light Industry construction sites during the first 3 years of the current five-year plan, funds for construction and installation work were underassimilated to the tune of 234 million rubles, or 15 percent of the total annual plans, while in local industry this indicator stands at 34 percent. Great laggardness has occurred in the Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Turkmenia, the Tatar ASSR, and Kalinin and Novgorod oblasts.

Targets for increasing capacities for the production of basic necessities and goods in mass demand are being fulfilled unsatisfactorily. Thus, the USSR Ministry of the Timber, Pulp and Paper and Wood Processing Industry was entrusted with constructing enterprises for the production of furniture in a number of regions where there is a shortage of that product. However, the construction of the Omsk Furniture Combine and the Andizhan Furniture Factory, whose commissioning is provided for in the current five-year plan, has still not begun. Construction of the Tselinograd Spinning and Thread Factory, a cotton-spinning factory in Armenia and a number of others have dragged on and on.

Capital investments allocated for the development of state trade and consumer services are regularly not assimilated. During the first 3 years of the five-year plan, approximately one-third of the funds deducted for these purposes from housing construction were underutilized. The consumer services network is being developed poorly with the funds of industrial enterprises construction projects, sovkhozes and kolkhozes. Serious complaints are addressed to construction organizations in this connection.

I would not like to divide responsibility between clients and contractors, ministries and local organs. This is a common cause, and it demands joint, coordinated action. Construction workers and enterprises must make a more businesslike effort to resolve tasks successfully, without referring to one another.

While not belittling the ministries' role in construction issues, it should be emphasized that great responsibility for the fulfillment of plans lies with local organs. The practice of work in fulfilling joint socialist pledges deserves wide dissemination. It is precisely on this basis that we should seek to reduce project construction times, improve the quality of work and assimilate the capacities being introduced as quickly as possible.

The organizing role of local party and soviet organs and their monitoring of construction progress are important here. The Dnepropetrovsk Obkom Bureau recently approved the initiative of construction and installation organizations and client enterprises to commission by Construction Worker's Day and start up ahead of schedule all the capacities for consumer goods production planned for this year. As a result, additional goods to the value of 600,000 rubles will be produced before the end of the year. Good results have been achieved in construction in the Moldavian SSR, the Bashkir ASSR and a number of other regions of the country.

On the whole, however, the state of affairs in the construction of industrial, trade and consumer services projects still gives rise to concern.

Unfortunately, many leaders and local organs still treat these as secondary construction projects. Frequently they are not provided with technical documentation and equipment on schedule, and their funding is delayed. As a rule, they are not fully provided with manpower, construction materials or equipment. This situation cannot continue to be tolerated.

Party, economic and monitoring organs have recently been taking measures to improve matters in this important sector.

In conjunction with CPSU Central Committee departments the Central Committee's Party Control Committee recently checked and examined the work of the leaders of the USSR Ministry of Construction of Heavy Industry Enterprises and its contract organization of light industry enterprises. The Ukrainian and Uzbek Communist Party Central Committees as well as other party committees have discussed similar questions and adopted specific decisions on them.

The CPSU Central Committee has set economic and party organs the task of making up the lag that has occurred in capital construction and of striving to fulfill the 1984 construction program.

People decide the success of any matter. Not only does this Leninist thesis not grow old, but its significance is constantly increasing, for life does not stand still. The scale and level of the economy's development are setting cadres more and more new and more complex tasks. This fully applies to cadres in light and local industry and all sectors engaged in producing consumer goods.

The majority of associations, enterprises, shops and sections are headed by skilled specialists and good organizers and educators. The collectives under their leadership work steadily, successfully introduce new and progressive items and launch valuable initiatives. I could cite many examples of positive work with cadres of party committees and of ministries and departments. However, there are also shortcomings in this matter.

Proper exactingness is not always shown toward leading cadres. Many enterprises still fail to cope with the fulfillment of plans, their economic activity is improving only slowly, and a principled party-minded assessment is sometimes not made of these facts. The reasons for shortcomings are not revealed in depth, and leaders' personal responsibility for the entrusted task is not enhanced everywhere.

Mistakes are still made in the selection and placing of cadres. It can happen that poorly trained workers who do not have the necessary education or sufficient experience are appointed to leading posts. Unjustifiably frequent cadres turnover is observed.

As is known, specialists with an artistic profile play an important role in improving the range and quality of consumer goods. They include many successful creative people. At the same time, conditions are sometimes not created for their fruitful labor, their opinion is not taken into account everywhere when assessing new products and their voice is not always heeded. As a result, they are not always tied to the sphere of producing and selling

goods. Recently, for example, the question of the use of designers was investigated in Latvia. It turned out that only one-half of the specialists assigned by VUZs work in industry, in scientific research and planning institutes, in trade and advertising. In the final analysis, all this incurs serious expenses and must be rectified as quickly as possible.

A millions-strong army of workers works in collectives producing and selling consumer goods. With a sense of high responsibility and personal involvement in implementing the party's social program, they resolve specific tasks of enhancing the Soviet people's well-being. Party and economic leaders are carrying out the necessary organizational and political work to form stable collectives and mobilize them for highly productive labor.

The production and the services sphere must be further reinforced with skilled worker cadres of mass trades and more concern must be shown for training and assigning them, above all, young people. Account must be taken here of the special features of production: the three-shift regime at light industry enterprises, work on general days off, and so forth.

It is necessary to step up the attention of leaders improving these people's working and living conditions. This is particularly important for the sphere of producing and selling goods, as women constitute up to 80 percent of the workers there. We must not indifferently overlook the fact that a considerable number of them are still employed in unattractive manual labor.

Party, soviet and economic organs must show constant concern for the people's needs. Wider use must be made of various forms of moral and material incentives and more attention devoted to the construction of housing and children's establishments and to resolving other social and consumer questions. Enterprises possess even greater potential for this. At Kustanay's "Bolshevichka" Sewn Goods Factory, for example, in recent years all jobs have been elevated to the level of standard jobs and fully accord with modern requirements. Many workers have been freed from heavy work. Public catering and medical and consumer services are well-organized there, and conditions have been created for full-scale relaxation. It is no coincidence that the factory has the highest labor productivity and the lowest cadre turnover in the sector.

It is necessary to create a good moral and political atmosphere in every collective and ensure concerted, harmonious labor and a desire to achieve high end results.

It is very important to improve the management of consumer goods production and sales. Wide scope for this is opened up by the party's policy of optimally combining sectorial and territorial development and enhancing the economic independence of associations and enterprises and by all the work on further improving management of the national economy.

The center of gravity in the leadership of production is shifting toward economic methods of management. This aim is served by the experiment being conducted in five sectors of industry. It is planned to begin it 1 July of this year in the consumer services system in a number of RSFSR regions.

The party's Central Committee devotes very close attention to all these problems. The CPSU Central Committee recently examined the progress of the economic experiment at the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Food Industry and the Belorussian SSR Ministry of Light Industry. The work of party, soviet and economic organs in conjunction with the new conditions is yielding positive results. Higher growth rates for production volumes and labor productivity than last year have been achieved and the fulfillment of deliveries according to contracts is being ensured. Economic indicators are improving, and deductions for the development of production and to the housing and cultural-consumer construction and material incentive fund are increasing. Wages are rising. Now it is necessary to consolidate the first successes, continue the work on deepening the experiment and further developing financial autonomy and place the work of allied sectors of industry, trade and planning and supply organs under party control.

Important CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolutions aimed at extending the rights of local soviet and economic organs in the spheres of planning and price formation and enhancing their interest in increasing production and improving the quality of consumer goods have been adopted recently. They reflect proposals from the provinces and from ministries and departments.

Practical measures are being implemented in a number of regions to overcome department disunity and strengthen cooperation between industrial and trade enterprises. Thus, the coordinating center for the development and regional distribution of the production of consumer goods not subject to central planning is doing useful work in Belorussia, Moldavia and the Baltic republics.

A similar organ has also been formed in Transcaucasia. A republic coordinating center for organizing work on satisfying the public demand for consumer goods is operating in the Georgian SSR. Exhibitions of products have been organized in many places, at which great work is done with enterprises.

The CPSU Central Committee and the government recently resolved the question of creating a special pavilion at the USSR Exhibition of National Economic Achievements which is entrusted with propagandizing progressive experience in producing consumer goods and rendering services to the population.

A comprehensive program is currently being drawn up for the development of consumer goods production and the system of services for the population.

Serious work still has to be done on the program centrally and locally. Every ministry and department, every republic, kray and oblast must make constructive proposals for the program. It is necessary to provide for the maximum utilization of resources and take into account all possibilities for increasing the production of consumer goods, considerably improving their range and quality and more fully providing the population with services.

In conclusion I would like to emphasize that we have reached an extremely crucial point in the 11th Five-Year Plan when every month counts. This

requires the intensity of all creative work to be further stepped up. "Concern and even, if you like, alarm for the state plan," Comrade K. U. Chernenko pointed out at the Central Committee's April Plenum, "must not leave us for a single minute."

Party, state and economic organs must take profoundly considered and vigorous measures of an economic and organizational-political nature and concentrate all efforts and means on fulfilling the current tasks. There is no doubt that the union republic communist party central committees and councils of ministers, party kraykoms and obkoms, ministries and departments will mobilize labor collectives and party, Komsomol and trade union organizations to complete successfully the 1984 plan and the socialist pledges adopted and to fulfill the decisions of the 26th Party Congress and the subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums.

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YEAR OF MARX AND IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE; NOTES ON ANNIVERSARY CONFERENCES,  
SEMINARS AND SYMPOSIA

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[Article by Prof M. Mchedlov, doctor of philosophical sciences]

[Text] Last year, which was named the Year of Marx, provided an occasion for people on all continents and in many different countries, of different outlooks and different political persuasions, to express their attitude toward the doctrine and activities of this great philosopher and revolutionary and the destinies and prospects of the social movement he created.

Included in these events were convinced supporters of Marxism (participants in the international conference in Berlin, the scientific session sponsored by the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, the symposium at K. Marx University in Leipzig and others); members of the broad democratic circles of the intelligentsia (such as those who held a colloquium in Madrid, sponsored by a number of Spanish universities and left-wing organizations); and representatives of the developing countries (such as those who participated in the New Delhi seminar). Many of the conferences were on "Marxism and the Developing Countries" (such as the international conference on Karl Marx in Africa, Asia and Latin America, held in Trier, Marx's birthplace); international conferences were held on individual scientific disciplines and problems (labor movement historians met in the Austrian city of Linz, and economists in the Italian city of Messina, on the occasion of the publication of Marx's 1861-1863 manuscripts, included in the Complete Collected Works of Marx and Engels in their original languages--MEGA). A number of other national and international scientific and political meetings were held, including a very broad round table discussion sponsored by UNESCO in Paris, where all or almost all major trends in contemporary sociopolitical thinking were represented and which included the participation of representatives from all areas on earth--scientists from socialist, capitalist and developing countries.

To Marxists-Leninists, the Year of Marx provided a tremendous impetus to the creative development of current priority problems. In the USSR and the other socialist countries the most topical problems of the theory and practice of scientific socialism were discussed and means for their effective resolution were earmarked at anniversary sessions and in scientific publications, in the

light of Marxist methodology. New phenomena in economics, politics and culture in the contemporary world were the subjects of a thorough study at international gatherings; the scientific Marxist-Leninist assessments of these new phenomena and processes were formulated and defended in the course of tense ideological clashes.

The Marxist scientists were also given the opportunity to prove major successes achieved in the further study of Marxism itself--its origins, establishment and entire history, thus contributing to the proper understanding of the laws governing its development and the inexhaustible creative possibilities of this revolutionary theory. The growth of its attractiveness and the desire to study it in all parts of the planet are consistent with the broad scientific publications of the works of the Marxist classics, published of late in a variety of languages. The Soviet scientists have made a worthy contribution to this novel project which they consider the fulfillment of their international duty. The multiple-volume editions of the works of Marx and Engels in many languages and in different countries eloquently prove the international nature of Marxism-Leninism, its growing role in the contemporary world and the tremendous interest in it, not only on the part of communists but of the broadest possible progressive circles.

However, the truly universal process of the assertion of Marxism in the mind of mankind should not be considered other than in a state of tireless ideological confrontation which has marked its entire history, from its very first steps.

The Year of Marx proved with particular emphasis that the doctrine he had created has invariably been the center of the ideological and political struggle being waged in the contemporary world. The purpose of these notes is to single out the most typical concepts on which this struggle was focused during the anniversary year.

Let us begin with the fact that the thought that Marx is our contemporary, from whose doctrine we always seek advice in the difficult and complex task the purpose of which is to build a new, a communist civilization, ran throughout all the works submitted by the Marxists-Leninists. Better than anything else, the great historical truth of the classics of scientific communism is confirmed by the all-round depiction of the practical implementation of their ideals. The developed socialist society built in the USSR, the achievements of the other socialist countries and the successes of the international communist movement, the national liberation struggle and the supporters of social progress are the clearest proofs of the practical application of Marxism, confirming its accuracy.

The permanent, active and sharply relevant significance of Marx's theory in terms of global civilization and the fate of all nations became the main target of the efforts of all ideological opponents of Marxism.

It was precisely to this effect that bourgeois and right-wing socialist Marxologists, zealously performing their social function, tried to expose the "unscientific nature" of Marxist-Leninist theory and its "inadequacy" in terms of the objective historical process and to deny it the fact that it is both a

legitimately superior stage in the development of human culture and an essentially new feature within it.

Let us share a symptomatic observation. Generally speaking, it can be said that in the anniversary events the bourgeois Marxologists did not essentially formulate a single new concept or thesis which, one way or another, they had not already puffed up in the past. However, as they refine their tactical methods, the ideological opponents try with increasing frequency to hide behind superficially objective "scientific" analyses, to acknowledge in words the importance of Marxism, the need to study it, the accuracy of some of its concepts, etc. while at the same time speculating on some characteristics of contemporary global development (above all those related to the scientific and technical revolution), the temporary retreats and defeats of the revolutionary movement in one country or another, the difficulties accompanying the building of socialism and the specifics of the struggle for social and national liberation waged in the developing countries.

Let us all emphasize that the declaration of independence, freedom of thought, and so on, characteristic of bourgeois ideologues and their entire arguments were noted for their amazing monotony and did not exceed the limits of literally stereotype views reflecting typical trends in contemporary anti-Marxism. Such stereotyped views are also being used by the very experienced, so to say, professional anti-Marxists and respectable university professors as well as personalities who are only beginning to make a name for themselves in the infamous anti-Marxist field.

In mounting its total offensive against the theory and practice of scientific communism, anti-Marxism did not avoid a single major problem or fail to submit it to its tendentious interpretation and, frequently, most elementary misrepresentation. This began with the very question of the origin, sources and components of Marxism (particularly great attention was paid to such questions, which were a separate topic for discussion, at the UNESCO round table meetings).

Objective research has thoroughly proved that Marx's theory appeared as an answer to questions raised at that time by progressive social thinking and, therefore, as the further development of thinking on a qualitatively new level.

The foes of Marxism confuse its sources with its components, either because of ignorance or malice, for the sake of turning the brilliant founders of the scientific theory of the working class into mediocre plagiarizers, mechanically reproducing the views of their outstanding predecessors.

However, the establishment of Marxism as a scientific theory is a dialectically complex and creative process. After critically revising the highest achievements in philosophy, political economy, socialist doctrine and all social sciences, Marx and Engels created a qualitatively new integral theory. We know that the very concept of the three components of Marxism was introduced for the first time by Engels in his "Anti-Duhring." In his words, he divided this "encyclopedic outline of our understanding of philosophical, natural science and historical problems" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch."

[Works], vol 36, p 119) into three parts: philosophy, political economy and socialism. At the same time he emphasized the unity among all these parts by describing "Anti-Duhring" as a "more or less related presentation of the dialectical method and the communist outlook as conceived by Marx and myself" (op. cit., vol 20, p 8-9). Marx read "Anti-Duhring" in manuscript form and himself wrote one of its sections, for which reason there is no doubt that Engels expressed their joint viewpoint.

It was precisely on "Anti-Duhring" that Lenin based his familiar article "Three Sources and Three Components of Marxism."

The tendentious presentations of the anti-Marxists notwithstanding, although relying on previous accomplishments in the area of social thinking, Marxism cannot be reduced in the least to their automatic sum. Having singled out in the history of social thinking, including philosophy, its superior accomplishments above all, and noting their tremendous role in the development of the social sciences, the founders of Marxism also brought to light the basic shortcomings inherent in their predecessors (idealism in understanding the dialectics of history, contemplativeness, metaphysics, and others). By surmounting them, Marx's theory raised philosophy to a qualitatively new level. "Marx and I," Engels wrote in the preface to the second edition of "Anti-Duhring," were just about the only people who were able to rescue conscious dialectics from German idealistic philosophy and to convert it to a materialistic understanding of nature and history" (ibid., p 10).

On this basis, the materialistic view of history was their first great discovery, which marked a truly revolutionary upturn in philosophy and which completed the building of materialism.

(Naturally, in order to accomplish such a change mastery of existing philosophical doctrines and the numerous theories of the historical process alone was not enough. As throughout the subsequent development of Marxist theory, based on the inviolable foundations of comprehensively studied factual data, this discovery was also preceded by a more profound study of specific facts of world history, particularly at its turning points, the history of the French Revolution above all. Suffice it to recall that the "Kreuznach Notebooks," written in 1843, include summaries of dozens of books on the history of virtually all European countries and the United States as well as books especially dealing with the French Revolution.)

The dialectical-materialistic understanding of history led to a fundamental, an essentially new conclusion of the role of the economic system, which, in the final account, is decisive, i.e., of the system of production relations, in shaping and developing the superstructure--political views, philosophical theories, etc.--on the decisive role of production forces in social progress and the consecutive change of socioeconomic systems. This conclusion, which had convinced Marx of the prime necessity of intensified economic studies, also transformed the dialectical-materialistic understanding of history into the methodological foundation of Marxist political economy and provided decisive concepts on the subject of economic research. This applies to social production as the dialectical unity of production forces and production relations.

The theory itself of alternating socioeconomic systems in the course of the progressive development in society is an inseparable part of the materialistic concept of history.

Marx's political economy studies were of an equally critical as well as creative nature (as the development of the dialectical-materialistic understanding of history). Here again, at the conferences the bourgeois Marxologists tried to present the case as though Marx essentially did nothing but reproduce the ideas of his predecessors, of the creators of the labor theory of value in particular.

Naturally, in his works Marx explained the fundamental role of the labor theory of value, which had been developed by the classics of bourgeois political economy and which, along with pre-Marxian materialism and dialectics, had been a source of Marxism. Here again, however, we must emphasize that it was only Marx who strictly substantiated and systematically developed the labor theory of value by explaining the mechanism of the creation of added value within the framework of value relations. "...Capital...is a force," Marx wrote in his "1857-1859 Economic Manuscripts," "which appropriates outside labor without exchange, without an equivalent, although it presents it as an exchange" (op. cit., vol 46, part II, p 45).

It is precisely the theory of added value, the creation of which was Marx's second great discovery, and the revolutionary upheaval in political economy, which exposed the mechanism of capitalist exploitation, that marked the main watershed separating Marxist economic theory from all other possible models of bourgeois political economy, for Marxism offers scientific proof of the inevitable replacement of capitalism by a new social system, whereas the purpose of all bourgeois theories is the justification and preservation of capitalism.

As groundless as the efforts to squeeze Marx's economic theory among the other bourgeois theories is the wish to present scientific socialism as the simple reproduction of the ideas of pre-Marxian utopian socialist theory. Even the most profound among them, from the communist ideas of Mably and Morelli in the 18th century to Saint-Simon, Fourier, Owen and others, did not go beyond speculative concepts of the social system of the future or answered the question of the ways leading to socialism. The utopian socialists were unable to discover the laws of social development or to see the social force which could become the creator of the new society. All of this could be accomplished comprehensively and profoundly only by Marx's and Engels' scientific socialism. As early as the 1840s they had formulated the basic concepts of the theory of scientific socialism and discovered the universal historical role of the working class as the main force capable of destroying the system of exploitation and oppression and as the creator of the future society. It was as of then that the study of the concepts and struggles of this class in bourgeois society and the determining of the conditions for its liberation from exploitation through a conversion to a new classless society that the basic features of this society became the main task of Marxist theory while the struggle itself developed as the main field for practical activities by its creators.

The groundlessness of the version of some rigid and even literal consistency between utopian and scientific socialism (even if we were to set aside for a minute the essential considerations we cited) is confirmed also by the fact that in addition to the works of the utopian socialists Marx took as sources of the theory of scientific socialism the studies made above all by the French historians Thierry, Guisot, Minier and Tier of the history of the class struggle, in which they found a key to understanding and explaining the entire history of France. In this area as well, the revolutionary change caused by Marx was that he systematically led the theory of the class struggle to the conclusion of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the building of a classless society and the decisive role of the working class in the transition to socialism and in building a communist society.

However, the theoretical elaboration of problems of scientific socialism was not limited to this in the least. In order to clarify the real situation of the working class in capitalist society and make a scientific forecast of the future it could expect, it was necessary to identify the basic trends and mechanisms of development of this society. This was accomplished by Marx in "Das Kapital," in the 1850s-1870s.

It was precisely in "Das Kapital" that Marx's theory was embodied most fully, and it was there that the role of Marxism was described most completely as an instrument for the scientific study of the world with a view to its revolutionary reorganization. It was precisely in "Das Kapital" that socialism acquired economic foundations, thus converting from a scientific hypothesis to a scientifically proven doctrine, a scientific theory.

One of the methods used by bourgeois and right-wing socialist Marxologists in distorting the development process and the very nature of the scientific ideology of the working class and belittling its significance is the artificial classification of Marx's work into mutually exclusive stages. It has long been known, for example, that the anticommunists have made extensive use of the notorious division between the "young" and "later" Marx who, allegedly, had abandoned the humanistic ideas inherent in his early works. To this day we come across assertions, such as those made at the international conference of labor movement historians in Linz, that Marx's early work, "The 1844 Economic-Philosophical Manuscripts," was "Marx's main work," the "embodiment of Marxian Marxism," etc.

Other variants of the "dismembering" of Marx's legacy exist as well. For example, at the UNESCO conference the bourgeois and right-wing socialist specialists in Marx "proved" that his creative legacy could be divided not into two but into three stages (the young, mature and old Marx). These stages were not only temporal but qualitatively different by virtue of the very areas of interest, for the young Marx was involved with philosophy the mature Marx with economics and the old Marx with politics.

The Marxists-Leninists who study the process of development of Marxist theory in direct relation to the practice of revolutionary struggle, have convincingly established how and why one aspect or another assumes priority at the different development stages. This does not contradict in the least the

fact that the functioning of Marxist theory as an integral doctrine has invariably taken place in a state of organic unity and interaction among all of its components and that they form an indivisible unity which cannot be broken up into separate and almost mutually exclusive "stages" without distorting its very essence.

Nothing about Marxism can be understood without making this absolutely clear. Furthermore, the interaction among philosophy, economics and politics, inherent in all of Marx's theoretical activities and the entire history of Marxist-Leninist development is no mere interaction of "spheres of interest" or social science branches; it is an interaction which directly leads to and substantiates the need for specific practical action on the part of the working class and the people's masses. Actually, the theory of added value and the determination of its origins and the nature of exploitation of the working class inevitably led to the conclusion of the need to destroy it through a socialist revolution.

It was precisely Marxism which proved that the laws of social development, unlike the laws of nature, take place through human activities carried out in a class antagonistic society in the form of class activities and struggle and that the class struggle itself actively influences the manner in which such laws operate. That is why, regardless of the attempts of many bourgeois ideologues to depict Marx as some kind of liberal, nonrebellious and "seemly" philosopher, his doctrine was distinguished by a clearly manifested revolutionary radicalism and aspiration for action and practical work.

Therefore, the establishment of the closest possible interconnection between the sources and components of Marxism is important, as we saw, not only for the sake of historical truths but for understanding the true course followed by Marx and Engels in the formulation of their theory. It is also necessary for the accurate understanding of the very content and direction of this theory.

Antihistoricism, which is so clearly manifested in the lack of understanding and misinterpretation by bourgeois critics of the origins and subsequent development of Marxism, has its particular reverse side. This applies to accusations of so-called "dogmatism" and "ossification" of Marxist theory. Considering this to be just about the strongest of their arguments, bourgeois Marxists who aspire to "respectability," frequently raise a somewhat dramatic objection to the "ritual reverence" paid to Marx's system, for in their view even the most brilliant system cannot anticipate everything, all historical zigzags, new facts and trends.... However, actually this "strongest" argument is defeated by its authors themselves, for such a concept of Marxism is as distant from Marxism as Marxism is from abstract social doctrines produced by an arrogant imagination. Let us particularly emphasize that Marxism was not created either in one fell swoop or in its final aspect. The development of the ideology of the working class and all its components, organically linked with practice, has never stopped nor will it ever.

Let us take as an example the development of the ways and means of the class struggle of the proletariat, its party and the ways to achieving their final objective--the overthrow of capitalism and the victory of the new social

system--and the conditions under which such victory can be achieved or, briefly, the strategic and theoretical foundations of the revolutionary worker movement, the liberation struggle of the proletariat. In studying such problems throughout their lifetime, Marx and Engels extracted extremely rich data for their study from the practice of the class struggle itself, in the course of which the conclusions were historically tested and the theory was developed and concretized, becoming, in turn, available to the struggling proletariat.

Two most important revolutionary events of the 19th century were of invariable importance in developing the theory of scientific socialism during Marx's lifetime: the 1848-1849 revolutions in France, Germany and a number of other European countries, and the Paris Commune of 1871. These events, in which the creators of the theory of scientific socialism themselves actively participated, provided a tremendous amount of food for thought and encouraged a new look at many social processes. As a result of their profound and comprehensive analysis, Marx expanded his theory with conclusions of prime importance. This included above all the need to break down the bourgeois state apparatus in order to ensure the success of the socialist revolution and the creation of organs of proletarian power. This also included the conclusion that only the proletariat can be a systematic fighter for democracy and that it will resolve general democratic problems as well in the course of its revolution; the conclusion of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry with other toiling strata exploited by its capital, as a mandatory prerequisite for winning the broad popular masses over to the side of the proletariat and strengthening and developing revolutionary gains in the course of a decisive struggle against counterrevolutionary intrigues; the nature of the proletarian state and its tasks and the enhanced role of the subjective factor--the consciousness and organization of the working class, the ideological unity and cohesion of its vanguard and international solidarity and proletarian internationalism.

To one extent or another, these and other conclusions drawn from the experience of the revolutionary battles waged by the proletariat, were reflected in the programmatic documents and activities of the socialist parties which were being created at that time, thus becoming one of the levers in the liberation struggle of the working class.

Such a steady development based on practical experience and the latest achievements in scientific thinking is invariably typical of all structural components of Marx's theory and Marxism as a whole. The tremendous importance which Marx and Engels ascribed to achievements in the specific areas of knowledge, such as Darwin's theory and the works of its followers, is widely known. Along with the other achievements in the natural sciences, they became the foundation for the elaboration of the theory of dialectical materialism. The discoveries made by Morgan, Kovalevskiy and other scientists who studied the early stages of human history enabled Marx and Engels significantly to refine and develop the theory of socioeconomic systems and the theory of the origin and nature of the state.

The tradition of maintaining an organic link with sociohistorical practice was continued by Engels after Marx's death. In working on the publication of the

second and third volumes of "Das Kapital," Engels carefully observed and described the new phenomena in capitalist development" the increased role of the stock market, the trend toward the growth of shareholding enterprises and the broadening of their realm of activities, the monopolizing of entire industrial sectors by them, the intensification and aggravation of economic warfare among the largest capitalist countries, fraught with ruinous military conflicts, etc.

Of late, attempts to "prove" the inapplicability of Marx's theory in various parts of the planet, particularly in the developing Asian, African and Latin American countries, have become quite a popular means of struggle against the ever-growing reputation of Marxism in various parts of the globe. It is claimed that Marxism was created on the basis of the study of "specifically" Western European history. For that reason, as some participants in the Linz conference of labor movement historians said, Marx "exaggerated" the role of the capitalist system in universal history and did not go beyond "capital centrism" and "Eurocentrism," for which reason he was unable to determine the development trends in non-European societies or the aspirations of the liberation movement in the so-called "Third World."

The groundlessness of such viewpoints was substantiated by the Marxists with the help of methodological and factual arguments.

The methodological groundlessness is made clear by the fact that Marx identified the very mechanism, the essential characteristics of the society based on private ownership relations, whose basic laws apply wherever private ownership relations begin to develop, although such laws, naturally, have their specific manifestations consistent with the characteristics of the individual country, area etc.

The version that the founders of scientific communism displayed a certain indifference to the history and destinies of non-European countries is untrue from the actual viewpoint as well. Suffice it to point out that toward the end of the 1870s, the successes achieved in archaeology, ethnography and many other disciplines shed a new light on the early periods of human history. Along with concretizing and enriching the theory of historical materialism, a key was acquired to understanding many processes which had taken place on the "periphery" of the capitalist world so to say, in colonial, dependent and economically and politically backward countries which were being subjected to merciless exploitation by capitalist states, while remaining objects of the struggle among them.

These new scientific data intensified the attention which Marx and Engels paid to the state of the peoples of these countries, the history of primitive society and the study of its vestiges found in the peasant communities which were still extant then in some countries in eastern and southeastern Europe, Asia and Africa.

Even more important, as early as the 1850s, in studying the struggle waged by the popular masses of India and China against the colonizers, with warm sympathy, Marx expressed a number of profound thoughts which proved the great importance he ascribed to the national liberation movement in the future and

how important he considered the interpretation of the role of the peoples living in the capitalist "periphery" to the social progress of mankind. Finally, can we forget the thoroughness with which Marx and Engels studied the history and contemporary practice of the liberation struggle in Ireland, the experience and characteristics of which provided them with extremely rich data for the elaboration of the revolutionary theory, including the theory of the national problem.

Neither Marx nor Engels, who survived him by 12 years, lived to see the collapse of the colonial system. Naturally, they could not predict the specific ways which the development of the former colonies would follow. However, it was clear to them that sooner or later the independence of the "peripheral" countries would be restored and that, in the final account, as Engels wrote in 1882, they too "would also reach a socialist organization" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 35, p 298).

As the familiar outlines of Marx's letter to V. Zasulich reveal, he did not exclude the possibility of a noncapitalist way of development for countries which had not reached the stage of capitalism, even a socialist victory in the industrial countries and the help of the victorious proletariat.

Twentieth-century history irrefutably proved the far-sightedness and accuracy of Marxism, enriched with the outstanding contribution made by Lenin to the development of problems of the national and social liberation of the peoples, as applicable to the colonial sector of the capitalist world

The following should be noted as well: an increasing number of leaders of the national liberation movement are proclaiming that they are making fruitful use of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism in their theoretical and practical activities. This fact has been extensively and clearly confirmed in a number of conferences. Thus, at the conference on the importance of Marxism-Leninism in the contemporary epoch, which took place in Ulan-Bator, it was emphasized that the noteworthy Marxist discovery of the possibility of more backward countries to shorten or even entirely to bypass the stage of capitalist development, was brilliantly confirmed by the practice of building socialism in the Mongolian People's Republic, with the comprehensive assistance of the Soviet people. This is of most topical significance today, when a number of young countries are choosing a socialist orientation.

These arguments alone suffice in order to see the faultiness of the main thesis to which, in the final account, the efforts of those who would like to belittle the topical significance of Marxism--its "obsolescence" and "dogmatism"--are reduced. Another conclusion of essential importance should be cited in order to refute this clearly speculative and demagogic thesis.

Naturally, life goes on. Changes are taking place at a faster pace and new tasks and problems must be resolved. We understand expressions of concern and the emphasis on the need to analyze precisely the contemporary characteristics of capitalism, the working class, the liberation movement, etc., as was the case at the international colloquium in Madrid. However, a reliable theoretical base is particularly necessary in order to ensure the accurate solution of precisely the new problems.

The century which has lapsed since Marx's death truly confirmed the fact that to the working class and the implementation of its historical role of creator of a new communist civilization no leading theory other than that of scientific communism is possible and that the basic principles of the theory and policy of the revolutionary struggle of the working class, formulated by Marx and Engels and developed by Lenin, on the basic problems of the liberation of mankind from all forms of oppression and for the assertion of the communist way of life have kept their full significance.

It is universally known that Marx and Engels considered their theory not a dogma but a manual for action. "...Marx's entire understanding of the world...", wrote Engels, and his words could be considered in the manner of a theoretical testament, "does not provide ready-made dogmas but starting points for further study and a method for such a study" (op. cit., vol 39, p 352). As confirmed by their entire theoretical activities, the founders of Marxism proceeded from the fact that the development of scientific theory should be based on the fundamental principles of this theory, instead of bypassing them, and as firmly tied to practice and to the experience of historical developments.

Our age, the age of socialist revolutions and the transition of mankind from capitalism to socialism, is directly related to Lenin, the great continuator of Marx's cause. His entire ideological-theoretical and practical activities were based on the principles we mentioned. It was this that enabled him to provide scientific answers to the new problems, to analyze the changes in the economics and politics of the capitalist world and to bring to light new ways and means of revolutionary struggle and the building of socialism. Lenin's theory of imperialism determined the further ways of the global revolutionary process. His theory of building the new society became a program for constructive activities for the countries which took the path of socialism.

These facts not only refute the anti-Marxist slanders of the "obsolescence" of the Marxist theory which was created in the middle of the 19th century, but are also a vital confirmation of the fact that throughout its history and at each one of its stages Marxism has operated in accordance with its organically inherent principles: it has developed steadily under the influence of the practice of the liberation struggle and on the basis of scientific discoveries and new phenomena in social life. Obviously, it can be said that constant development is a method through which Marxism exists.

Our epoch is contributing ever new proof of the vital strength of Marxist-Leninist theory. The extension and intensification of its influence on the population of all continents and the appearance of new supporters everywhere is triggering, as the conferences on the occasion of the Year of Marx proved once again, many lovers of splintering Marxism-Leninism by country, age and region, thirsting to "pluralize" it. In turn, the latter is depicted almost as a prescription for curing Marxism from its alleged crisis.

Innumerable attempts and suggestions have been made to introduce a variety of "Marxisms." It would be quite relevant to recall the old wisdom that there can be only one truth and many errors. There can be no several "Marxisms,"

not to mention Marxisms pitted against each other. By its very nature and content, Marxism-Leninism is a profoundly international theory which sums the universal experience of the class struggle and the achievements of global science and culture. It is a single, integral and steadily developing revolutionary theory of the international working class, which must be applied specifically, in accordance with one set of conditions or another. Any accurate summation of specific experience is also an enrichment of Marxism-Leninism. Any departure from its principles is no longer Marxism. In our time, Marxism lives and develops in the theoretical and practical activities of the CPSU and the fraternal communist and worker parties. Let us particularly bear in mind, for example, that the elaboration of the theoretical concept of developed socialism and the strategy of its advancement and the concepts of the state of the whole people and the Soviet people as a new historical community are substantial contributions to the single Marxist-Leninist treasury.

Another worn-out populist slander may be compared to said versions of bourgeois ideologues about "obsolete" Marxism and the need to "pluralize" it: accusing scientific communism of creating dissension and inconsistency between its ideal and reality. At this point we come across a double falsification: first of all, the vulgar and naively primitive presentation of the communist ideal and the future as predicted by Marxist theory as an entirely complete and all-round perfect society which, allegedly, should be established immediately, without any stages, offering to all the complete abundance of material and spiritual goods. Secondly, the misrepresentation of real socialism itself in an exclusively negative way, as an uninterrupted string of errors, defeats and difficulties, ignoring historical accomplishments, humanistic social potential and truly great accomplishments of the working people. Things have gone so far that the socialist countries are "denied" the right to call themselves...socialist.

At the UNESCO round table in Paris, the author of this article took part in a discussion on precisely such problems and pointed out that inherent in the ideological legacy of Marx and Engels on problems of the socialist reorganization of society was the highest possible level of realism, containing not even a trace of any utopianism or haste. They invariably presented this reorganization as a relatively lengthy historical process, due to the scale and complexity of the economic, social and ideological problems faced by the working class ruling the state. They invariably emphasized that the building of communism goes through a number of gradual stages on the way to a specifically communist society.

The dialectical-materialistic principle of development applied by Marx and Engels in their study of future mankind was of tremendous importance. Whereas the utopians considered the society of the future as being some kind of a perfect and, therefore, immutable ideal, to the founders of Marxism, as Engels pointed out in one of his letters, "it is not...something given once and for all but, like any other social system, it should be considered proof of constant change and transformation" (op. cit., vol 37, p 380). Furthermore, the idea that the process of building a new society is gradual and the attempts to earmark such stages, even though in general, were made by the founders of Marxism quite soon. In other words, the concept of qualitatively

defined stages in building a communist society was not accidental. Marx and Engels organically related it to the entire development process of their theory. As early as the beginning of the 1850s, within the framework of the summed-up experience of the 1848-1849 revolutions, Marx and Engels realized the inevitability of the existence of different stages in the course of the proletarian revolution and in the subsequent development of the society of a new type. In all cases, the classics of Marxism proceeded from the fact that the future experience of the masses and social practice will correct the actual outlines of the future.

In a similar way the objective and specific historical analysis should be applied in the approach to socialist reality. To begin with, we must make clear that with the victory of the Great October Revolution communism stopped being merely a theory, brilliant though it was. It became real practice. However, this means that now it is impossible to raise the question of communism and the communist ideal outside real socialism while bypassing it, not to mention opposing it, for regardless of any intention involved, this represents a withdrawal from the real dialectics of history and a case of antiscientific subjectivism.

The main battlefield for the systematic implementation of the programmatic stipulations of Marxism-Leninism is the areas on our planet where a real socialist society is functioning, the commonwealth of socialist countries. It is within the framework of this alliance that the problems of which the best minds of the past dreamed are being systematically resolved. Despite all the variety of ways and means of building a new society, inherent in the real socialism built in several countries on different continents, is a totality of common and separate features which characterize in their entirety the nature of the first phase of communism. It is precisely this real socialism which concretizes and refines the concepts expressed by the Marxism-Leninist classics, confirming them in their essential and main features. As the embodiment of their ideas, real socialism is proving its unquestionable advantages and far from fully identified opportunities as yet.

Despite all complexities and difficulties encountered by the new society, the most important and unquestionable fact is that real socialism has been able to resolve problems which bourgeois civilization is essentially unable to resolve. It ensured a crisis-free and dynamic development of the economy, continuing improvements in the well-being of the working people, true democracy, social justice, elimination of national discord, fraternal cooperation among nations and nationalities and the establishment of a historically new type of person.

In their polemics with the anticomunists, the Marxists-Leninists need no embellishment of socialist reality whatsoever. The successes achieved in building the new society may have been incomparably greater without, above all, the pressure of external imperialist forces. In all cases, however, the decisive difference between the two systems is that the internal forces of socialism are quite adequate for coping with their problems, whereas capitalism is organically unable to resolve the antagonistic contradictions which are tearing it apart.

The Year of Karl Marx, which was widely noted by progressive mankind, convincingly proved that the theory created by the genius of Marx and Engels lives and, developed by Lenin, the CPSU and the international communist movement, is not only functioning under difficult contemporary conditions but also contains a tremendous, inexhaustible internal theoretical and methodological potential which allows its successful application in the study of contemporary social development.

Despite all anti-Marxist slanders, refined or primitive, and despite all complexities and twists, history is developing according to Marx and there is no force which can hold back its development and suppress the desire of the people for freedom, justice and progress.

#### FOOTNOTE

1. Engels' contribution to the formulation and development of Marxist theory is so great that his name is inseparable from that of his friend. They were like-minded people who founded the same doctrine and the unified scientific ideology of the working class. However, these totally unquestionable facts must be reiterated, for today bourgeois and right-wing socialist authors are energetically promoting precisely the idea of presenting Engels as just about the "first revisionist" who "distorted" the "liberal-objective" views of Marx the researcher, who "stopped" the development of Marx's scientific theory by ascribing it a malicious party-mindedness and institutionalization, "rigid system," "legitimacy," etc. Furthermore, quite strange efforts are being made to "free" and "cleanse" Marx's creation from Engels' "distortions," acknowledging, as do the most zealous supporters of this concept, exclusively Volume I of Marx's "Das Kapital," the others being, allegedly, quite one-sidedly prepared for publication by Engels....

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## ECONOMY OF LABOR TOOLS

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[Article by Dr of Economic Sciences D. Palterovich]

[Text] One of the main accomplishments of the Soviet economy is the creation of a powerful widespread production apparatus in all national economic sectors. Between 1970 and 1983 alone productive capital increased by a factor of 2.64, totaling today 1.4 trillion rubles. Its active portion--the fleet of production equipment--is developing at a fast pace in most sectors.

The creation of powerful production machinery necessitated billions of rubles in capital investments and tremendous labor outlays. However, for quite some time now the level of utilization of the production potential has remained insufficiently high and has shown a declining trend in a number of sectors.

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In giving priority as the most topical national economic task to the conservation of production resources, the science of economics and economic practice have concentrated their main attention in recent years on means of conserving raw materials, materials, fuel and energy. Considerably less attention has been paid to economy of labor tools, machines and equipment above all. The decline in capital returns, which has taken place for a number of years in most production sectors, is being silently or openly acknowledged as an inevitable evil, a kind of tribute which society must pay for the sake of ensuring all or almost all increases in output through higher labor productivity based on accelerated technical equipping and retooling of production facilities.

Meanwhile, labor tool economy also means, in the final account, the conservation of material resources which require tremendous outlays for their manufacturing. In other words, the economy of labor tools, expressed by increased capital returns, is a major component of the growth of social labor productivity. Although it does not exclude the possibility of the growth of such productivity, a decline in capital returns slows down increased overall production efficiency and leads to increasing the share of accumulations in the national income and the redistribution of national economic resources in favor of the production of capital goods. The importance of labor tool

economy is further intensified as a result of the fact that the share of related outlays in the overall volume of production expenditures increases systematically.

Let us note several other objective reasons for the relative increase in labor tool outlays. In particular, they are related to the accelerated development of capital-intensive industrial sectors in areas with a harsh climate, the worsened mining and geological conditions for the extraction of raw materials and fuels and the increased costs of environmental protection and improvements in labor conditions. Nevertheless, the most important reasons for declining capital returns remain organizational-structural factors and the faster increase in the cost of labor tools compared to their positive effect, shortcomings in encouraging the better utilization of machines and equipment and planning the need for same, which is not always properly related to available manpower. For example, the size of the fleet of metal-cutting machine tools in the national economy significantly exceeds the number of workers qualified to operate them. Should we be amazed, therefore, that the shift coefficient in the work of metal-cutting machine tools in machine building, which had reached 1.5-1.6 at the beginning of the 1960s, declined to approximately 1.35 by the mid-1970s? Machine tools are frequently operated on a half-shift basis at enterprises of non-machine building ministries.

Therefore, extensive trends frequently appear in the development of production facilities and in the fleet of machines and equipment: the capacity of the fleet is increased by increasing its size while its productivity remains insufficiently high.

In the past, we believe, planning the production of labor tools was influenced by the not entirely accurate understanding of the law of the faster growth of the production of productive capital. According to this law, the production of productive capital should increase considerably faster, year after year, compared to the production of consumer goods. In a number of cases, in this connection, the production of machines and equipment begins to develop on the basis of the laws and conditions which developed within machine building itself, frequently unrelated to the actual needs of the other national economic sectors.

The low level of interest shown by the consumer in its preservation also contributed to the quantitative increase in output and the equipment fleet. Most of the equipment is purchased by the consumer from centralized capital investments, which are allocated along with equipment funds, for which reason they look like a free gift. Furthermore, in the current economic mechanism neither the dynamics of capital returns nor the level of utilization of production capacities affect the formation and utilization of economic incentive funds. Therefore, equipment consumers are not interested in economizing on labor tools or, in particular, in limiting requests for such tools. In the case of some types of equipment, such requests are several times higher than available resources. However, if the consumers order more equipment than the machine building industry can produce, equipment producers lose their incentives to improve the structure of the equipment and to differentiate it according to its various applications.

On the other hand, the so-called request requirement is unrelated to actual production requirements. Usually, the more available machinery is misused, the more new machinery is ordered. Meanwhile, the quantitative growth of the machine fleet leads to even greater misuse. A kind of vicious circle is formed: more machines-worse utilization-increased request for machinery-even worse utilization. As a result, despite the faster increase in the production of productive capital, a permanent shortage of the latter develops.

However, during the period of the scientific and technical revolution and given the existence of a tremendous production apparatus, which took decades to develop, the ratio between the production of capital and consumer goods should be increasingly influenced by factors such as the ratio between capital-intensive and capital-saving trends of scientific and technical progress, a consistency between the structure of produced equipment and specific production requirements and a ratio between price increases and the consumer value of the new machines and the time needed for the creation and mastery of production capacities and the level of utilization of the existing production apparatus.

The more the possibilities of reproduction intensification and utilization of the machine and equipment fleet are realized, the further prerequisites appear for bringing closer to each other the growth rates of the first and second public production and divisions and, in some stages, even the faster increase in the production of consumer goods. As we know, the 11th Five-Year Plan calls for a certain faster increase in the growth rates of group "B" in industry (26.2 percent as compared to 25.5 percent for group "A"). It seems to us that if we succeed in putting an end or even slowing down the decline in capital returns as a result of the intensified utilization of already available productive capital, such faster development could be significantly accelerated during the next 5-year period.

The reduced growth rates in the production of labor tools, planned for this 5-year period, also requires their fuller utilization while simultaneously creating prerequisites for their improvement. Losses related to labor tools appear at different stages in their active cycle and for a great variety of reasons. A number of examples prove that at the stage itself of designing the machines an unsatisfactory quality and disparity with specific operational conditions are built in. A structurally underdeveloped model means future idling productive capital which, after several years of additional efforts and occasionally substantial outlays, must be written off.

The deadlines for mastering the use and the delivery, reliability and durability of produced equipment and, consequently, the level of its utilization, are determined at their production stage. The assignment of the produced equipment will determine whether it will be efficiently used or will idle or be put to improper use. For example, the national economy suffers substantial damages from the fact that more than 40 percent of the metal-processing equipment is used outside the machine-building industry; most trucks remain outside the public use automotive transportation system; equipment for timber procurement, cutting and processing, machines for turning plastic material into goods, drilling and other prospecting equipment and construction and a large variety of other types of machinery are scattered

among dozens of ministries and departments where their level of utilization is frequently lower by several hundred percent compared to the main specialized sector.

The most important method for preventing such losses is to create conditions under which possession of poorly used productive capital would be simply unprofitable to enterprises and their personnel. However, here a great deal also depends on the extent to which, in allocating equipment among sectors, the planning authorities will exercise an efficient structural and technical policy, will be able to oppose the trend toward a "barter economy" and will concentrate each separate type of equipment in the area of its optimal utilization.

Inefficiency or slowness in allocating equipment sometimes lead to the fact that the produced items are not shipped where they are needed, or are kept for long periods of time in the manufacturers' warehouses. For example, at the beginning of 1984, 1.5 million rubles' worth of presses for the production of metallic powder items had accumulated at the Pinsk Automatic Drop-Forging Lines, for the ministries which had ordered such progressive equipment had not assigned it to their respective enterprises.

Substantial opportunities for labor tool savings appear during enterprise construction and reconstruction periods. The lack of economic incentives for reducing surpluses of uninstalled equipment and of responsibility for its maintenance entail significant losses not only in the creation but the mastery of production capacities. The mastering stage frequently experiences lengthy delays, particularly when complex machine units, lines and systems have not been tested in advance and adjusted by the manufacturer.

Machine units, assemblies and parts needed for replacing or repairing equipment pile up and sometimes become obsolete during the warehouse storing stage. Acting on the basis of the principle that "A reserve will not make the pocket heavy," many enterprise managers stockpile years worth of reserves of electric motors, bearings and other items which are frequently urgently needed by other consumers.

Maintaining the necessary ratios among equipment, manpower and material resources and among integrated machines, instruments, equipment, repair services, program support and cadre training is of decisive importance in ensuring the faultless performance of the production apparatus. Finally, at the write-off stages losses occur as a result of prematurely discarding equipment because of its low quality, inadaptability to complex operational conditions, unskilled utilization, poor storing and repairs, lack of spare parts, etc. Cases are known of turning fully operational machines, assemblies and parts into scrap metal.

Therefore, we must plan and carry out a set of organizational and economic measures to ensure labor tool savings during all stages of their performing cycle.

In this connection, let us consider in greater detail the following basic trends in the intensification of reproduction and the utilization of the equipment:

Reequipping the existing equipment on the basis of essentially new high production equipment and technology;

Improving the consistency between the structure and the technical parameters of the equipment and specific production conditions and the nature of the labor objects and the performed operations;

Increasing equipment load on the basis of improvements in the organization of production and management.

The first requires the accelerated development of new technological processes and superior forms of automation: the creation and installation of automated systems for controlling technological processes, automated lines, equipment with digital programming and comprehensively automated and robotized sectors and shops. However, many types of such equipment have not yet reached the necessary level of maturity, and production conditions do not ensure their full utilization everywhere.

As a result, the effectiveness of automation, determined with the help of existing computation methods, frequently turns out to be considerably lower compared to other trends of scientific and technical progress. Whereas in industry the average time for the recovery of outlays related to the installation of new equipment (a ratio of the installation of new equipment to increased profit on an annual basis) was 3 years in 1980, it took 5.5 years to recover the cost of automation, 3.8 years for production mechanization, 2.4 years for the installation of progressive equipment and 2.7 years for updating existing equipment. This means that a more careful choice of automation and its targets, and ways and means of application and preparations for their implementation must be made. For example, the use of equipment with digital programming may yield good results under the following conditions: automated programming, multiple machine-tool servicing, existence of special instruments for fast detection of irregularities in the control system, careful selection of suitable parts, availability of skilled cadres, programmers, tuners and repair workers in particular, and suitable quality of blanks and tools. Extensive automated lines, processing centers, industrial robots and flexible automated systems can yield real returns only if, in addition to the enumerated conditions, they would be used in no less than two full and, in many production facilities, three full daily shifts. The violation of this stipulation lowers the result of the utilization of progressive equipment and occasionally leads to the fact that the cost of expensive equipment is not recovered within the stipulated time.

Furthermore, we must not forget that the existing methods for assessing the efficiency of new equipment do not allow us to take into consideration some important aspects of the socioeconomic consequences of automation. The science of economics has not totally eliminated the difficulties which arise

in considering results, such as long-term prospects for radical changes in the entire production process, made possible by essentially new equipment on the basis of the use of nontraditional technology and automation, the advantages related to improved labor conditions, the increased satisfaction of the people with their work and the diminished scarcity of skilled workers and lowered training outlays.

Taking all of these factors into consideration will enable us to assess more fully the effectiveness of essentially new equipment and automation and thus to open the way for the more extensive installation of new machines and equipment of higher technical standards. However, the choice of optimal decisions and increasing the efficiency of their application remain essential.

It is no less important to improve conditions for accelerating the processes of creating and mastering the production of new equipment. Along with familiar accomplishments in this area, some negative trends have been noted in recent years. The average annual number of prototypes of machines, equipment, apparatus and instruments declined from 4,254 in the 8th Five-Year Plan to 3,435 in 1980-1982. According to a 1967 study, the share of new types of commodities produced by the machine-building industry over the last 5 years was 55 percent; the figure dropped to 40.6 percent in 1980. The share of essentially new equipment developed on the basis of inventions remains insufficient.

In order to accelerate the process of creation and to upgrade the efficiency of new equipment, we must improve the management of the comprehensive scientific and technical programs implemented in our country and relate more firmly within the economic mechanism the economic stimuli of the individual enterprise and worker with the production of superior quality goods meeting world standards; a certain share of the assets of the unified science and technology development fund must be left at the disposal of the enterprises (as is the case with sectors engaged in economic experimentation), sufficient to compensate for outlays related to the development and mastery of new commodities.

Frequently overloading production capacities in the machine building industry with the production of obsolete commodities which, in a number of cases, do not meet superior world standards, is a major obstacle in rapidly mastering the production of new equipment. Usually conversion to the manufacturing of new equipment requires technical retooling. As a rule, this involves a drop in the production of the old items. Such drops in output are detrimental to the producing enterprise even when sufficient quantities of old commodities are available in the national economy. That is why one of the tasks of the planning organs and machine-building ministries is decisively to curtail or even totally to stop the production of obsolete types of machines and equipment, including items the consumption area of which has been sufficiently saturated, thus releasing capacities for the production of new equipment.

Let us take as an example the production of metal-cutting machine tools, the fleet of which is obviously overstocked with traditional equipment. It is hardly possible to update variety by producing an average of 230,000 machine tools per year (as was the case during the 10th Five-Year Plan). In order

significantly to increase the share of more complex and more efficient equipment, such as automated machine tools and automated lines and equipment with digital programming, the number of equipment units produced must be reduced considerably. This will enable us to lower the number of available machine tools and to balance the number of workplaces with available manpower.

As we pointed out, improving their structure and enhancing it in accordance with specific production conditions are among the most important trends in upgrading the efficiency of labor tools. Studies have indicated the existence of substantial disproportions in the technological, functional, parametric and age structure of machines and equipment. This reduces the possibility of comprehensive mechanization and lowering of manual labor and hinders the efficient utilization of the production apparatus.

Shortcomings in the functional and technological structure leads, among others, to the development of drastic disparities in the level of labor mechanization among the different sectors and jobs. Thus, the production of equipment for a number of sectors in the service industry and auxiliary operations, where manual labor is mainly used, is lagging in its development.

Differences in the available technical equipment for metal processing, casting and assembling operations in machine building and earth removal and finishing work in construction are examples of disproportions in the technological structure. In contracting construction organizations the level of mechanization in earth removal has reached almost 100 percent; it is almost 80 percent for house painting and 78 percent for plastering. Yet the road construction machine industry meets 80 to 100 percent of the requirements for most earth removal machinery, whereas only 30 to 50 percent of requirements for minor mechanization facilities and mechanized tools for finishing, quarry and wood-processing operations are met.

Technological efficiency largely depends on the rational proportions between power industry and work machinery and between basic equipment and instruments, fittings and various implements. We know, for example, that truck efficiency is frequently reduced because of a shortage of trailers and that powerful energy-saturated K-701 and T-150K tractors work at half capacity because of incomplete sets of machine attachments. An equally inefficient ratio also exists between agricultural machinery and transport facilities. Truck shortages result in the idling of sowing machines and grain and silage harvesting combines, sometimes reaching as high as 40 to 60 percent of the working time.

It is equally important to ensure the technological integration of machines operating as single technological sets. For example, the capacity of driers is five times and of wringing and ironing equipment 80 percent above that of the washers in the coin-operated sets manufactured by the enterprises of the Ministry of Construction, Road and Municipal Machine Building. Such lack of integration is a frequent phenomenon. As a result, some machines are overloaded while others have excess capacity, which leads to additional capital and operational outlays. In order to prevent the possibility of such

disproportions, it is necessary to design and produce sets of technologically integrated machines, the responsibility for which should be borne by the general set designer.

Opportunities for labor tool savings relative to improvements of their dimensions are quite considerable, although little studied by the science of economics so far. We know that equipment can be quite efficient under some production conditions but frequently inefficient under others. Thus, a high-efficiency automatic machine tool is unprofitable in manufacturing small batches of parts; a complex and expensive machine tool with digital programming is ineffective in manufacturing simple items; a powerful modern computer will not pay for itself if used for basic bookkeeping computations instead of resolving complex optimization problems or problems of controlling technological processes. It would be unprofitable to use a large motor vehicle, tractor, excavator or machine tool where the characteristics of the labor object, the nature of the operations performed or production conditions require the use of a small inexpensive machine.

However, the machine-building industry does not always supply the necessary variety of models and sizes of produced equipment, as a result of which it frequently becomes necessary to use machinery for things they were not meant to do, in which case their efficiency drops, for their power, capacity, accuracy, dimensionality and other technical parameters are used only partially.

Improving the parametric structure should be considered one of the most important national economic problems. For example, repeated studies have determined that the size and technical parameters of metal-cutting machine tools (in terms of the maximal length and diameter of machined parts, capacity, speed, power supply) are used up to no more than 20-50 percent under production conditions. For this reason, suggestions have been frequently made of changing the parametric structure of produced machine tools and, particularly, increasing the production of smaller low-speed and simpler machine tools. It has been estimated that in one technological group alone--vertical drilling machines--this could save 35 to 40 million rubles annually.

The efficiency of the equipment used in the extracting industry greatly depends on it being consistent with conditions under which minerals are extracted, such as the nature and depth of the deposits, thickness of the seams, etc. In taking into consideration the tremendous variety of such conditions, we must differentiate and optimize the dimensions of extracting equipment and use each machine precisely in the basin, shaft or mine where its capacity and other technical possibilities will be used to the fullest extent.

The lack of special models of coal-mining combines and mechanized sets for very thick or fine or else slanted seams, it frequently becomes necessary to use not entirely suitable mining equipment. This entails losses in coal which remains unextracted due to the fact that in terms of the height of the props or the width of the working part of the combine does not cover the entire thickness of the coal seam, or else the coal becomes mixed with rock if the conveyor used is of an excessively large diameter or else the seam has caved in as a result of using props of the wrong size.

According to data provided by the Donetsk Coal Scientific Research Institute, in recent years an increasing number of mechanized sets have been used in Ukrainian mines in thin (up to 1.2 meters) seams. That is why such sets extract, along with the coal, rocks adjacent to the seam. As a result, with a virtually unchanged amount of marketable coal, total extraction at the mines of the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Coal Industry increased by 23.5 percent from 1965 to 1980 whereas the percentage of rock increased 13 to 28 percent.

In the petroleum extraction industry the use of high-powered systems for drilling shallow wells entails not only unnecessary capital outlays but considerable overexpenditures of metal, electric power, fuel, operational expenditures and facilities for hauling the heavy equipment. This is particularly inadmissible, for petroleum and gas extraction is shifting to increasingly remote and inaccessible areas.

The development of an efficient structure of a fleet of trucks, tractors, excavators, bulldozers and some other types of machinery in terms of size and capacity is of major economic significance. Studies of the existing structure have almost always confirmed the prevalence of average power or capacity models, whereas high-powered models and small equipment are either totally unavailable or insufficient. For example, supplying agriculture with small tractors and power cultivators is a very topical task. The view that such machines may be used only at individual farms, selection plots and school and other small plots of land is erroneous. They are successfully being used in soil plowing and cultivation, in interrow cultivation, grass mowing, hay procurement, application of fertilizers, hauling in and many operations in the communal economy and railroad stations and ports. Power-driven machines are quite effective in farming steep slopes and in forest areas. As many as 50 technological operations could be mechanized with their help and with available work implements. Therefore, the extensive production of small tractors and motor cultivators with their sets of implements would greatly help the successful development of agriculture and the reduction of manual labor in all farming sectors.

The absence of low-power machinery in construction hinders the mechanization of some small-scale operations and encourages the high percentage of manual labor. In automotive transportation the lack of minihoists makes it necessary to use 3-5-ton capacity hoists for low-volume hauling, which roughly doubles operational costs.

Therefore, improving the structure of machines and equipment and making them consistent with specific production conditions and stipulations and the nature of the labor objects and the operations performed are among the main ways for saving on labor and ending declines in capital returns.

The factors which determine the consistency of the equipment structure and the specific requirements of the production process could be classified as follows: upgrading the interests of enterprises in saving means of labor; reorganizing the structure of the machine-building output; perfecting the

planning of equipment requirements; and improving the allocation and utilization of the machinery.

How should such factors be taken into consideration in perfecting planning and the economic mechanism?

The development of economic incentive in enterprises for the efficient utilization of means of labor should become one of the main trends in the planned renovation of the economic mechanism. Unfortunately, this most important task has not been properly reflected in the stipulations of the economic experiments conducted in a number of national economic sectors. Naturally, the conversion to financing technical retooling from the production development and other enterprise funds will force them to take a serious approach to problems of acquisition and utilization of labor tools. To begin with, however, the principle of self-financing must be observed strictly. To this effect, withholdings for the development fund must be increased and differentiated in accordance with the actual enterprise need to update production apparatus.

Secondly and above all, economic steps must be taken to surmount the attitude toward productive capital as a kind of "gift," of property given to the enterprise free of charge, the utilization of which has little effect on worker material and moral incentives.

Economic incentives must operate at all stages of the reproduction and utilization of means of labor. An enterprise which has ordered unnecessary equipment or has failed to ensure its financing should be made to compensate the supplier for all the losses related to cancelling his order. If machinery has not been installed within the stipulated time or if its capacity has not been reached, capital asset payments should be doubled or tripled. An enterprise which has increased its above-norm stockpile of repair assemblies and units should pay stiffer fines. All such funds should be deposited into the economic incentive funds, so that both losses and savings would affect the situation of the individual workers.

Naturally, such correlation demands a finely tuned economic mechanism. The enterprises will be looking for efficient technical innovations and try to save on means of labor only when such savings will truly affect the incentive funds and end their arbitrary redistribution and restrictions on enterprise expenditure rights.

In our view, it would be expedient directly to influence capital returns and turn them into an incentive target. A variety of methods could be used, such as enterprises which have increased capital returns compared to the level reached will have a higher material incentive fund; those which have allowed a drop in capital returns will have a reduced material incentive fund by a tangible percentage, such as, for example, 3 percent per each percent of change in capital returns.

The principle of stimulating the use of productive capital must apply to every worker involved in its utilization. This principle must become a structural component of intraplant and brigade cost accounting.

Steps such as stimulating capital returns on the level of associations (enterprises) and offering bonuses for the better utilization of normative capacity of equipment on the shop and sectorial levels would force production managers radically to change their attitude toward problems of economizing on means of labor and make them order exclusively needed equipment, write off worn-out equipment faster and formulate and implement measures to improve the utilization of fixed assets.

In order to convert from increase to stabilization and subsequent reduction of the amount of metal-processing, construction and some other types of equipment, it is important to accelerate the planned restructuring of machine-building output and to direct it toward the production of essentially new high-efficiency equipment. This would require restricting the production of many types of traditional equipment and the respecializing of some machine-building enterprises. Obviously, in such cases requests for traditional equipment (occasionally exaggerated) would be frequently denied. This will bring about a more careful attitude of equipment users toward available machinery and its more intensive utilization.

The machine production structure (in terms of function, technology and size) must become a particular planning target. In our view, it would be expedient to this effect to add to the national economic plan and the plans of machine-building ministries additional tables with assignments on the target (based on requirements) changes in the means of labor structure. Its planning presumes that the ratios among the individual groups or types of labor facilities should be computed on the basis of technological norms or economic criteria and the available resources should determine the scale of output of the entire structural total rather than its individual elements.

Machine systems consisting of subsystems and sets must become the base in planning the equipment structure. They should include all types and stages of production processes in each sector (sectorial systems), as well as intersectorial production processes (functional systems). The sectorial systems (of the type of the two existing systems for comprehensive mechanization of agricultural and construction output) should be formulated for all production sectors and for sectors in the nonproduction area, such as health care, education and management. Such machine systems should include equipment not only for basic but also for auxiliary production processes, management equipment and general and specialized transport facilities. Equipment such as lifting and packing machines, instruments, engines and office equipment should be transferred, as a rule, from functional to sectorial systems.

The development of machine systems will legitimately become the duty of all machine-building ministries and their consumers. Furthermore, a procedure and deadlines for such developments should be set. As additions to the plans for the creation and utilization of machine and equipment sets, such systems will become target scientific and technical programs for the development of the respective equipment models. Such sectorial programs must become a structural component of the comprehensive target programs for the development of machine building.

The elimination of disproportions in the structure of produced machines and equipment will require a substantial redistribution of production capacities and capital investments among sectors and subsectors in the machine-building industry and changes in their production nomenclature. A qualitatively new approach to determining equipment requirements should become a prerequisite for such changes. Currently, as a rule it is determined as an overall figure, based on the norms for specific capital investments, the share of equipment within them and specific outlays for one type of equipment or another per unit of output. It is necessary to determine the technological and dimensional structure of the equipment to be produced, on the basis of preliminary determination of the extent of utilization of the various machine parameters, the size and serial nature of machine parts and the nature of performed functions. In order for the head scientific research institutes in the machine-building sectors to be able to fulfill such assignments, their services dealing with computing equipment requirements must be strengthened; designers and all developers of new equipment must be required to make systematic studies of the utilization of the parameters of similar machines under actual circumstances and to encourage not their potential but their actual effect.

In our view, a special section entitled "Need and Level of Utilization" should be introduced in the technical and economic specifications of all designs dealing with the new equipment, technology and automation. In this section the scientific research and design and engineering organizations, which are developing prototypes on the basis of a preliminary study of the conditions under which the machines are operated, should indicate the economically rational need for specific models and sizes and their modifications, as well as the correlation between their efficiency and level of utilization both in terms of time and basic parameters. It is also necessary to determine with greater accuracy the type of intrasectorial ratios such as the one between the machines which are produced and their complements of assemblies, parts and spare parts.

In order to benefit from the advantages of large-series and mass production and automation possibilities in attaining the necessary variety of machine models, it would be expedient to increase organizational and material incentives for standardization and unification. In particular, the designer must receive a higher bonus not only for developing a new part or assembly but for the skillful utilization in the new machine of standard assemblies and parts.

The reason for the unsatisfactory quality of many types of output, new equipment in particular, is frequently explained by the fact that the supplier is confident of having a kind of monopoly in supplying them to the customer who, as a rule, does not have the option of turning to another supplier. The conviction that anything he produces will be taken largely relieves the supplier of the need to ensure the high quality of the goods. The same could be said of sectorial scientific research institutes and design bureaus which design new machines and equipment. As occasional "monopolists" in their field, they delay the development of projects created by other collectives.

In our view, therefore, if expedient, we should offer the consumers the option of choosing a supplier and, even more so, a design for new equipment and its manufacturer. This would require the more extensive use of competitions for technical designs which will be assigned to two or several collectives; the production of the specific machines will be assigned to enterprises which will ensure the best quality of output at the lowest price.

Furthermore, the supply system should provide for a choice of supplier. To this effect we must make the distribution system more flexible, among others by developing the wholesale trade in productive capital. We believe that conditions have already developed for eliminating the funded allocation of many types of industrial commodities. Particularly important and scarce items could be excluded. However, in offering mechanisms which will enable the enterprises to save on labor tools the scarcity of the latter should decline.

Since the nomenclature of the output of industrial enterprises changes systematically, the equipment pool should be sufficiently mobile. Ensuring the use of each individual machine in the area where it will be efficiently applied can be achieved not only by clearly stipulating this area in the technological documentation but also by creating the possibility of rapidly marketing through specialized intermediary offices of used equipment which is no longer needed by a given enterprise but could be used by others.

Improving the utilization of the various technical parameters largely depends on the level of concentration in the production of technologically homogeneous items. This can be enhanced not only by comprehensively intensifying specialization but also through enterprise cooperation in the use of general-purpose equipment, metal-processing above all. To this effect the machine-building centers should set up automated control systems which would assist such cooperation. The enterprises would provide said system with information on available machine time of their equipment and obtain information on the possibility of meeting orders with temporarily available equipment in other enterprises. This would relieve a number of plants and factories of the need to purchase expensive equipment used only sporadically.

We have considered some of the most important trends of technical and structural policy in the area of means of labor economy. The implementation of such a policy and the further increase of the machine-labor ratio, the enhanced level of mechanization and automation and the extensive application of the latest equipment in all production sectors is a very complex and many-faceted problem the successful solution of which will contribute to further enhancing public production efficiency.

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## LABOR COLLECTIVE AND TRADE UNIONS

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[Article by V. Prokhorov, AUCCTU deputy chairman]

[Text] For the first time in the history of mankind socialism established a type of democratic system which does not remain within the framework of political decisions but is extended to absolutely all aspects of social life and comprehensively covers its most important area--production. V. I. Lenin considered as the greatest advantage of the system the involvement of the working people in the daily management of governmental and social life. He considered the maximal development of labor activeness and the creative initiative of the individual working person one of the basic prerequisites for communist self-management. In the course of the development of the new society favorable opportunities are created for the steady extension of democratic principles in the production process. The CPSU tries to ensure that all current and newly passed laws are aimed at perfecting socialist democracy. The Law on Labor Collectives, the first law of its kind passed in the history of our state, is aimed at the successful implementation of Lenin's idea of the increasingly broad assertion of collectivism in the social practice of the new system.

This important legal act develops and concretizes the extensive rights stipulated by the USSR Constitution of the collective as the main cell of socialist society, in which material and spiritual values are created, the party's tasks of steadily enhancing the living standards of the people are implemented and the high moral principles of the Soviet person shaped. It has considerably broadened the reach of production, labor and social development problems included in the realm of management activities of labor collectives and introduced substantial additions to the mechanism for the exercise of their rights. It has established the principles according to which no single production or social problem can be considered and resolved without the direct participation of workers and employees and without considering the opinion of the labor collective.

In expanding socialist democracy, the law introduces a number of new features in the activities of trade union organizations. This is entirely natural, for in our country all the rights of collectives are exercised with the most active and mandatory participation of the trade unions. The law has

intensified responsibility for the implementation of statutory obligations and additional functions related to the exercise of the rights of labor collectives. Together with the administrations, the trade union committees have been given the right to convene labor collective meetings and to supervise the implementation of their decisions. The trade unions must make even fuller use of their possibilities in drawing the working people into the management of production and social affairs, strengthening the discipline and achieving a high degree of organization and order.

The Law on Labor Collectives has been in effect for about 1 year. It has created the necessary legal base for the successful implementation of specific production and social tasks by the collectives and is helping them in better satisfying the social and cultural needs of the working people. We would be fully justified in saying that there are virtually no problems affecting the life of enterprises, establishments and organizations which cannot be resolved on a broader democratic basis with the help of this law.

This is confirmed, for example, by the experience of a large enterprise such as the Moscow Stankostroitel'nyy Zavod imeni Sergo Ordzhonikidze Production Association. In accordance with the law, the main problems of planning, production and financial-economic activities and sociocultural life are now submitted for collective discussions. Draft plans are submitted for ratification only after their consideration at general meetings. All of this enables the enterprise to determine its potential more fully and to apply additional possibilities. After thoroughly weighing existing possibilities, the plant's working people pledged to reach an above-plan increase in labor productivity by 1.6 percent this year. However, even this proved not to be their limit, for during the first 4 months labor productivity here increased by 2.77 percent.

We know that the successes of our economy are determined above all by the results of the work of labor collectives in the production area. The energizing of such collectives, which account for more than 70 percent of the entire employed population in the country, is closely related to the further increase in enterprise autonomy, the development of the economic initiative of the working people and their increased interest in and responsibility for end labor results. These criteria are manifested particularly clearly in counterplanning--a mass movement which embodies Lenin's requirement that the formulation of plans "must be initiated simultaneously from above and from below" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol. 35, p. 148).

The trade unions are contributing a great deal to the development of this movement. They are conducting their various projects in accordance with the program for the further advancement of ways and means of involving the working people in production management, which was adopted by the AUCCTU Presidium in 1982. It is based on the requirement of significantly increasing the number of enterprises adopting counterplans during the present five-year plan and surmounting the still occasionally existing one-sided understanding of counterplanning, according to which it is related only to additional output. As was emphasized at the 17th Trade Union Congress, counterplans must be considered the best substantiated form of socialist obligations and a norm of economic life in enterprises and associations.

In some enterprises the moment it becomes a question of overfulfilling assignments, the question of allocating additional material and manpower resources is immediately raised. Progressive collectives act differently. The AUCCTU Presidium approved the instructive experience of the collective of the Odessa Scientific-Production Association for Cryogenic-Oxygen and Gas-Cutting Machine Building on the thrifty and efficient utilization of metal. Great attention is being paid here to problems of conserving raw and other materials and electric power and ensuring the best possible organization of labor and maintaining the technical standards of produced equipment. Thanks to this, in the first 3 years of the 11th Five-Year Plan, without increasing the size of its personnel, the collective increased the volume of output by more than 22 percent without using additional metal.

The trade unions take into consideration not only the obvious economic and social advantages of counterplanning, beneficial to the collectives. Counterplanning becomes a school for direct participation of millions of working people in planning. Today the "counter" is the result of collective experience and democratic discussion of the basic problems of enterprise life at general meetings, expanded trade union committee sessions, permanent production conferences, regular conferences and meetings of aktivs. It is a plan which enables every member of the collective consciously to define his role in its implementation. The production collectives have confirmed their profound interest in the development of counterplanning. Whereas in 1983 counterplans for production volume and labor productivity were adopted, respectively, by 2.8 and 2 percent of all enterprises, this year the number of enterprises which adopted such plans reached 18.3 percent for the volume of output and 26.5 percent for labor productivity.

All the stipulations in this law are contributing to enhancing the efficiency of socialist competition directly organized by the trade unions. It stipulates, among others, that labor collectives conclude among themselves socialist competition and creative cooperation contracts and hear out reports submitted by administrations and trade union committees on the implementation of organizational and technical measures which help to fulfill socialist obligations and issue corresponding recommendations.

These rights become particularly important under contemporary conditions when priority is given to fulfilling obligations on commodity procurements by all industrial associations and enterprises. The precise implementation of contractual obligations becomes one of the main features in summing up competition results and determines the winners. Cooperation among labor collectives interrelated through cooperated supplies and their responsibility for the implementation of economic contracts and reciprocal obligations strengthen in the course of the competition with related enterprises, based on the "worker relay race" principle. For example, such competition helped enterprises and construction organizations in many union and republic ministries and departments to reach ahead of schedule the planned capacity of the Urengoy-Petrovsk and Urengoy-Novopetsk pipeline ahead of schedule and to commission the Urengoy-Pomary-Uzhgorod export gas pipeline on the required capacity level 6 months ahead of scheduled.

The socialist competition has always been rich in innovations and labor initiatives. Nor is there a shortage of them today. One of the most outstanding and significant initiatives is that of the labor collectives in the coal, metallurgical and other economic sectors, who joined in the struggle for fulfilling the 11th Five-Year Plan for a number of most important indicators on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Stakhanovite movement, which will be celebrated in August 1985. This patriotic initiative was approved by the CPSU Central Committee. The trade union organizations undertook to promote the active use of Stakhanovite traditions in achieving high production indicators and in the education of the working people.

The labor collectives are resolving in practice the problems of combining the socialist organization of the economy with the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution. The development and application of contemporary equipment in the interest of man is the base for profound changes in the nature and content of the work, which provides wide scope for achieving high labor productivity and the comprehensive development of the individual. One such task is reducing manual labor and accelerating technical retooling. The need to pay greater attention to this task by the trade unions is dictated not by economic considerations alone. Mechanization and automation mean above all easing the work and providing favorable conditions for productive and creative work.

The initiative of the trade union organizations, the scientific and technical public and the innovators and rationalizers in Zaporozhe and Chelyabinsk oblasts has become widespread in our country in recent years. Comprehensive programs were formulated and successfully carried out in these oblasts on accelerating the mechanization and automation of production processes and, on this basis, reducing manual labor. Positive experience was also acquired by the trade union organizations in Moscow, Leningrad, Kuybyshev Oblast and the Latvian SSR. As a rule, here the documentation of jobs, objective assessments of the level of production mechanization reached and the formulation of comprehensive plans for technical and organizational measures aimed at reducing the areas of application of manual labor were formulated. The use of the suggestions of innovators led to releasing more than 230,000 people engaged in manual labor and to improving the working conditions of almost 100,000 workers in 1983 alone.

Unfortunately, the pace of production mechanization and automation and, on this basis, curtailing manual labor, remains unsatisfactory. Currently 35 percent of the overall number of workers in industry perform manual labor.

Together with ministries and departments, the central committees of trade unions must significantly energize their work for the mechanization of manual labor, relying essentially on drastically increasing the production of mechanization facilities by associations and enterprises themselves, making maximal use of the advantages of intrasectorial specialization. Additional steps are being taken to enhance the labor activeness of the working people in the mechanization of manual operations. This is the purpose of the comprehensive target program for the participation of trade unions in projects to reduce the use of manual labor in economic sectors in 1982-1985 and through 1990. It stipulates steps to increase the influence of trade unions on the

implementation of the 11th Five-Year Plan assignments on reducing manual labor and defines the trends of joint work with planning, economic and other state bodies.

The trade unions have a great responsibility in developing the brigade form of labor organization and incentive. The life of the brigades and the experience they have gained in increasing labor productivity and combining the interests of the individual worker, the collective and society eloquently prove that high political awareness and the labor standards of workers and kolkhoz members help to shape the essential elements of developed socialism's social relations. The concepts of "mine" and "ours," and of the private and public blend within the brigades. Statistical figures indicate that in industry brigade members are dismissed less than non-brigade members by a factor of 1.7 and that in brigades whose wages are based on a single order, by a factor of 2.7. Worker turnover in cost-accounting construction brigades is lower by a factor of 3.5 compared to construction workers not using cost accounting.

In its decree "On the Further Development and Enhancement of the Effectiveness of the Brigade Form of Labor Organization and Incentive in Industry," the CPSU Central Committee indicated the need comprehensively to assist in enabling the brigades to exercise the rights they have been granted with Article 18 of the USSR Law on Labor Collectives. Guided by these stipulations, the USSR Council of Ministers and the AUCCTU defined steps and trends of work of economic and trade union authorities for upgrading the efficiency of the brigade form of labor organization and incentive in industry.

In accordance with the Law on Labor Collectives and together with the USSR State Committee for Labor, the AUCCTU is drafting corresponding methodical and legal documents. The Standard Regulation on the Production Brigade, the Brigade Leader, the Brigade Council and the Council on Brigade Leaders was revised. A temporary procedure for the salaries of foremen and other engineering and technical personnel included in consolidated production brigades in industry was approved. The wages of the workers in these brigades will be based on end results for a single order. Bonuses to foremen and other engineering and technical workers within the brigades and of the rank-and-file workers will also be based on the results of the brigade's work and on meeting the indicators and stipulations set by the administration and coordinated with the trade union committee. The piece-rate earnings will be divided among the brigade members as follows: workers, in accordance with their rate scale; foremen and other engineering and technical personnel, based on their official salaries and in accordance with the time actually worked, with the application of the labor participation coefficient.

However, by no means everything has been accomplished to upgrade the efficiency of the brigade form of labor. At his meeting with workers of the Serp i Molot Metallurgical Plant in Moscow, Comrade K. U. Chernenko emphasized that here some problems must be resolved on the level of ministries, departments and sectorial trade unions. He called for taking the necessary steps indicated by reality more daringly. Improvements in the brigade organization of labor should be based on the extensive development of comprehensive and related brigades using the principles of cost accounting and

paid in accordance with end results and allocating wages in accordance with the labor participation coefficient.

The production associations and enterprises must formulate and implement steps to restructure the planning and accountability systems, to perfect production and management and to improve the brigades' engineering and material and technical support. Consolidating the brigades is a vital task. This step will make it possible to make broader use of the trade union group in increasing the influence of the trade unions on upgrading the efficiency of the brigade organization of labor.

The full exercise of all rights granted labor collectives of brigades and links is the base for high work efficiency. Along with concern for the further development of the collective contracting method, a decisive struggle must be waged against all manifestations of a formalistic approach to the rights of contracting collectives, the more so since, in pursuit of "percentages," here and there the principle of voluntary participation in staffing such brigades is ignored and the opinion of the members of the collective in resolving problems of intrabrigade life is not considered.

In the course of building socialism, the trade unions have acquired rich experience in participating in resolving various problems of economic development. This work has assumed respective organizational forms. Thus, the all-union social review of the efficient utilization of raw and other materials and fuel and energy resources, sponsored by the AUCCTU, Komsomol Central Committee and USSR Gossnab, encourages the nationwide movement for developing thrift. Its purpose is to direct the creative efforts of each production collective and all working people toward the key trend in economic construction. The central, sectorial, republic, kray and oblast review commissions, as well as similar commissions at associations, enterprises, organizations, scientific establishments, kolkhozes and sovkhozes have been set up to provide current management of the reviews. They include members of party, trade union, Komsomol and economic bodies, the USSR Gossnab, people's control, scientific labor organization and VOIR [All-Union Association of Inventors and Rationalizers], the press, radio and television, technical and economic information services, specialists and production frontrankers and innovators.

The united efforts of trade union, economic and Komsomol organizations and material and technical supply organs in ensuring the high effectiveness of the all-union public review are yielding results. Four million suggestions were submitted by the working people in 1983. The use of rationalization suggestions enabled the country to save 4.3 billion rubles during the third year of the current five-year plan. A total of 1.9 million tons of rolled ferrous metal, 2.3 million tons of cement, 3.8 million cubic meters of lumber, more than 1.6 million tons of light petroleum products and many other materials were saved. Goods worth almost 1.4 billion rubles, including 460 million rubles' worth of consumer goods, were produced with the thus-saved raw and other materials.

The all-union public review also enables us to detect unresolved problems in identifying reserves for the successful implementation and overimplementation of

stipulated resource conservation assignments. A number of enterprises are slow in applying power- and material-conserving equipment and technologies and show high losses of metal, raw materials, materials, fuel and energy in the course of production and storage; above-norm stockpiles of material values occur. Efficient control over the implementation of resource conservation and worker bonus assignments has not been organized everywhere.

The trade union councils and committees and the review commissions must increase their control over the formulation and observance of norms of raw and other material expenditures. They must conduct more frequently mass investigations of such expenditures, based on the technical production standards reached. Most importantly, they must disseminate the practical experience of associations and enterprises which have strictly normed power consumption for the entire variety of output and within each structural subdivision and workplace, while systematically amending outlay norms based on technological changes, the use of organizational and technical measures and the application of inventions and rationalization suggestions. One of the most important tasks of the participants in the review is efficiently to react to negligence and waste and to block all channels for material losses. This mandatory requirement is stipulated in the Law on Labor Collectives.

Under contemporary production conditions every working person must become properly familiar with the components of production costs and production factors which influence the growth of labor productivity and the lowering of production outlays. Without this it would be difficult to ensure the more extensive involvement of the working people in production management.

The trade unions are making a substantial contribution to improving the system of economic education at work. They directly manage its most widespread form by organizing the work of about 1 million communist labor courses attended by more than 24 million workers and kolkhoz members. The students pay great attention to the study of sectorial and local production experience, specific problems of economy and thrift and strengthening socialist labor discipline. This enables them more actively to participate in rationalization, to develop their own thrift accounts and to influence more competently the management decisions made by labor collectives. The trade union councils and committees must further improve the work of the communist labor courses in the spirit of the requirements of the Law on Labor Collectives and to improve the quality of dissemination of economic knowledge among working people.

The socialist state has granted the trade unions extensive rights and opportunities in defending the legitimate interests of the working people. The Soviet trade unions are purposefully implementing their protective function. It is self-evident that under the conditions of a developed socialist society this function is taking place in ways different from the capitalist countries. For example, our trade unions do not have to defend the worker against the arbitrary behavior of entrepreneurs or exploitation. We do not have to defend the working people against unemployment, inflation or decline in real living standards. The supreme objective of the communist party policy and the activities of the state of the whole people is to ensure further improvements in the well-being of the Soviet people and all aspects of their lives. However, our trade unions must defend the working people from

excessive departmental zeal and bureaucratic distortions which, unfortunately, still occur. In defending the legitimate interests of workers, kolkhoz members and employees, the trade unions struggle against departmentalism, red tape and formalism or, in a word, against all that is alien to the very nature of labor relations in a socialist society.

The defense of "the workers from their state" in the activities of Soviet trade unions is combined with the Leninist tradition of "defense of our state by the workers" (see op. cit., vol 42, p 208), i.e., the comprehensive defense of the interests of the socialist state and its foundations and constructive functions, and the mobilization of the working people for the successful implementation of national economic plans. Using live and specific examples, they explain to every working person the direct correlation between the benefits he receives within the socialist society and his personal contribution to the production activities of the collective. By comprehensively supporting the thought expressed by Comrade K. U. Chernenko at the February 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum on the importance of the strict observance of social justice in daily affairs, whether it is a question of wages and bonuses, allocation of premises, travel vouchers or rewards, the trade unions see to it that everything is based on the labor contribution of the individual to the common cause.

For a long time problems related to wages on all levels have been resolved in our country in coordination with trade union committees and councils. Labor norms are set and specific time norms, output and services are set and amended also in coordination with the trade unions. The working people are extensively involved in organizing labor norming at enterprises through labor wage and norming commissions and voluntary norming bureaus. They participate in the formulation and application of technically substantiated norms and supervise their proper application.

The trade unions focus their main attention on the proper ratio between wages and levels of skill and on ensuring the closest possible connection between wages and individual labor results. Of late a number of major steps have been taken in the field of wages with their participation. The wage rates and salaries of workers and employees in the coal-mining industry and mining construction in the main coal basins have been increased and so have the salaries of individual categories of engineering and technical workers in the textile and some other light industry sectors within the Ministry of Light Industry system. Salaries of managerial personnel and specialists and employees in sovkhozes and other state agricultural enterprises have been increased in all areas of the RSFSR, Belorussia and Kazakhstan. The wages of teachers and other public education workers are being increased. In order to reduce cadre turnover bonuses are paid for seniority in contracting construction organizations, railroad transportation, public use river transportation and some other sectors. Other steps are being taken to increase wages. All in all, the state has allocated about 10 billion rubles (for 1985) for wage increases for workers and employees.

In recent years legislation has strengthened the broad set of rights enjoyed by labor collectives in labor organization, norming and wages and use of incentive funds. In particular, the collectives have been given the right to

formulate and implement steps on applying progressive labor organization methods which would contribute to enhancing its productivity and fulfilling stipulated plans with fewer workers as well as improving the utilization of the working time. Wage fund savings obtained by reducing the number of workers will be used in accordance with regular procedures with the direct participation of the labor collective in encouraging workers who do a greater amount of work compared to the norms.

The increased rights of labor collectives in labor norming and wages impose great commitments on trade union committees. They are as responsible as the administrations for setting proper labor outlay norms, observing wage regulations and creating proper conditions at each workplace. It is their duty to display greater insistence in implementing the suggestions of labor collectives. Wherever such work is done efficiently the working people actively participate in improving labor norming. Here are examples: in 1983, 190 workers at the Termoplastavtomat Production Association in Khmelnik called for revising the norms. As a result, 3,598 norms were reviewed and labor-intensiveness was lowered by 30,700 norm/hours. The initiators were paid a bonus of 4,100 rubles. Active work in this area is being done at the Aksaykardandetal Plant, the Zhdanovtyazhmash Production Association and other collectives. All in all, 4 million norms were revised, or 4.8 percent of the total number of revised norms in USSR industry were the result of worker initiative last year.

As we know, the labor collectives have substantial bonus funds. Every year about 14 billion rubles are spent in the entire national economy on bonuses to workers from the material incentive fund. More than 4 billion rubles are paid out of the sociocultural measures and housing construction fund for the needs of the collectives of working people and their families. The task is to achieve a more efficient utilization of these funds. Administrations and trade union committees, on the basis of whose joint resolutions such funds are spent, must upgrade the material incentive of the workers in fulfilling their planned assignments and increasing production efficiency.

The material incentive and sociocultural measures and housing construction funds cannot be used without the agreement of the labor collective. However, situations occasionally arise which require the intervention of superior trade union organizations. For example, unknown to the Chemical and Petrochemical Industry Workers Trade Union Central Committee and in violation of the Law on Labor Collectives the Ministry of Chemical Industry used about 10 million rubles remaining in the socioculture measures and housing construction fund to finance planned measures in 1983. As a result of the complaints which were filed, the AUCCTU appealed to the Council of Ministers and the violation was corrected. Naturally, such violations could be avoided if the central committees of trade unions were to demand of the respective ministries and associations the strict observance of socialist legality by superior economic authorities, concerning labor collectives.

As in the past, the collective contract remains an important tool in developing socialist democracy and the creative activeness of the masses directly in the production area. It enables the labor collectives to exercise their constitutional right of participating in production planning and social

development. Under developed socialist conditions the legal and economic-political significance of collective contracts has been strengthened. The most characteristic feature of the contemporary collective contract is increased representation and extending it to all members of labor collectives. Working people at enterprises and organizations show great interest in drafting and concluding collective contracts. Thus, they submitted some 2.8 million suggestions in the course of the 1984 collective contract campaign.

The conclusion of collective contracts and the observance of their stipulations contribute to the more successful solution of problems of social development of labor collectives. This leads to systematic improvements in working conditions and labor safety, the allocation of funds for housing construction, construction and repair of children's preschool institutions and prophylactic sanatoriums and rest homes, the broadening of the public catering network, the acquisition of travel vouchers and the solution of other problems of enterprise and organization social life. Considerable funds are being spent for such purposes. Presently, in industry alone the amount spent on the basis of collective contracts out of the sociocultural measures and housing construction fund exceeds more than 2 billion rubles annually. About one-half of this amount is used to build housing, children's institutions and other cultural-consumer projects. All of this is in addition to budget allocations.

The effectiveness of a collective contract depends above all on systematic control over its strict and prompt implementation. The AUCCTU and the other trade union authorities are seeing to it that the entire control system operates efficiently from top to bottom, from the minister and department and enterprise manager to the foreman and brigade leader. Control on the part of the working people is also being comprehensively encouraged. The implementation of such contracts is discussed at general meetings of labor collectives, trade union aktiv conferences and quarterly trade union committee sessions.

However, we still come across cases of underestimating the role of collective contracts by some economic managers and trade union committees. This would explain why 22 of the most important stipulations in the collective contract for 1983 remained on paper alone at the Machine-Building Plant imeni Ordzhonikidze in Podolsk. Assignments on the growth of labor productivity and the production of consumer goods remained unfulfilled; a residential building with 216 apartments, a dormitory built for 250 beds in a Pioneer camp and a greenhouse in an auxiliary farm were not commissioned on time.

The trade union organizations must sound the alarm on each such occasion. They must see to it that cases of nonfulfillment of measures stipulated in collective contracts by the administration are reviewed by the respective ministries and departments with the participation of the central trade union committees.

Successes in building socialism have always been related to increasing and strengthening labor discipline. At the outset of the Soviet system Lenin pointed out that "communist public labor organizations, which mark the appearance of socialism, will increasingly rely as time goes on on the free

and conscious discipline of the working people themselves..." (op. cit., vol 39, p 14).

Each stage in our construction sheds new light on the permanent relevance of these words. What is most noteworthy today? On the one hand, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and extensive mechanization and automation of labor create objective prerequisites for efficient order and organization. On the other, the fast increase in the role played by the individual worker in production will enhance the significance of qualities such as self-discipline, responsibility for assignments and a feeling of duty to the collective and to society. The contemporary way of life increases discipline requirements. "The question of organization and order," emphasizes Comrade K. U. Chernenko, "is a key, a principal one for us. No two views on this matter are possible. Any disorder or irresponsibility does not result in material losses to society alone but causes major social and moral harm."

The working people justifiably claim that drifters, absenteists, parasites and drunks seriously harm the country's national economy, live a parasitic life at the expense of our democracy and abuse the humane norms of our society. The working people consider the steps taken by the party with a view to strengthening order, production and state discipline and socialist legality an expression of their will and an important guarantee for the observance of social justice.

The trade unions have a rich arsenal of ways and means of influencing labor discipline violators. Speaking honestly, however, such ways and means do not always yield proper results. For example, AUCCTU personnel checked the allocation of housing in the Dagestan and Tatar ASSRs and in Vladimir, Voronezh, Karaganda, Tashkent and many other oblasts. They determined that at ensure that enterprises the trade union committees did not exercise their right to make drunks or absenteeists lose their turn in housing allocations. In nearly one-half of the enterprises both violators and conscientious workers were given additional leave for seniority. Naturally, this did not contribute to strengthening labor discipline.

The labor collectives and their trade union organizations have been granted extensive rights in maintaining social justice. All they have to do is make full use of such rights in order to influence more energetically the work of the individual working person, display comradely exigency and be intolerant of violations of discipline, money-grubbing, idleness, slackness and irresponsibility.

Taking into consideration suggestions formulated by the working people on the further strengthening of labor discipline and reducing cadre turnover, the USSR Council of Ministers and the AUCCTU passed the decree "On Additional Measures To Strengthen Labor Discipline." The decree earmarks a wide range of steps to resolve urgent problems. It emphasizes the need to improve organizational and political education work as major factors in strengthening labor discipline and struggling against cadre turnover. Measures for material and moral incentive are contemplated in order to reach a high level of discipline and to improve organizational and economic work in collectives and sectors. Particular attention is paid to the responsibility of planning

authorities, ministries, departments and enterprise managers, who must see to it that high-level labor discipline is based on the efficiency and organized production management system.

The communist party and the entire Soviet people are persistently working on eliminating difficulties in economic development faster and reaching new heights. The facts prove that a firm foundation has been laid to this effect. Industrial production is becoming more efficient and the rates of growth of labor productivity have exceeded the average annual indicators of the last and the first 2 years of the current five-year plan. Working time losses caused by absenteeism and intrashift and full-day idling have diminished. Cadre turnover has declined.

The trade unions clearly realize that the main thing today is to maintain the pace reached, to develop the positive trends and to stabilize them. They are helped in the implementation of such tasks by the steady concern shown by the party and its Leninist Central Committee, a clear manifestation of which was the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Work of the Heavy Machine Building Worker Trade Union Central Committee." The decree includes an expanded program for improving trade union organizational and educational activities, perfecting the workstyle and method and its effective reorganization based on present requirements.

Particular mention should be made of the need to take trade union work closer to the daily needs and concerns of the working people in connection with the Law on Labor Collectives. Some trade union personnel still somewhat underestimate the significance of this document and the mechanism it provides for exercising the rights of collectives. Here and there long-term painstaking organizational work for the implementation of this law is reduced to short and superficial campaigns. The organic interconnection between the stipulations of the Law on Labor Collectives and the bylaws of the USSR trade unions has not become clearly understood everywhere. However, the law directly stipulates that in intervals between meetings the trade union organizations can exercise the rights of labor collectives in accordance with the bylaws of USSR trade unions and Soviet law. This means that now the trade union organizations can base their activities not only on the statutory regulations but on this law which substantially enhances the level and significance of trade union bylaws.

Making greater use of labor collective general meetings and conferences in considering topical problems related to the life and activities of enterprises, establishments and organizations is particularly important. The trade union committees are responsible for the quality of preparing and holding them (as required, but no less than twice a year) and for the discussions to be held in an atmosphere of practical and interested exchange of views.

The exercise of the increased rights of the labor collective requires giving the people better information and higher-level publicity in the implementation of decisions. Many enterprises have drawn proper conclusions from this. In using the right to supervise the implementation of resolutions passed at meetings and conferences, as granted by the law, the trade union committees

ensure, together with the administrations, their prompt implementation and see to it that all suggestions and recommendations expressed by their participants are considered within a 1-month period and that the working people are mandatorily informed on the steps which were taken.

Under the new circumstances the attention paid to permanent production conferences, as the most widespread method for involving the working people in production management, must not be lowered. The law has given them the right to submit vitally important problems for consideration at labor collective meetings. This broadens the opportunities of the production conferences and involves them in the solution of virtually all enterprise problems. The status of the permanent production conferences has been enhanced also by the fact that the suggestions and recommendations they formulate, following their approval at the general meeting of the labor collective, are subject to mandatory review by administrations and trade union and other public organizations. This provides a reliable guarantee for their implementation.

In accordance with the Law on Labor Collectives, deputies elected by labor collectives and executive committees of local soviets and their departments and administrations have been given the right to hear reports. It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of this stipulation. The executive committees of local soviets largely determine the solution of many sociocultural and daily problems of enterprises and organizations on their territory. The law enables them to resolve such problems more specifically and directs labor collectives and their trade union organizations to establish close cooperation and interaction with the soviets.

The communist party would like to see the trade unions as active participants in the great changes which are taking place in our country in accordance with the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress and subsequent Central Committee plenums. Guided by recently passed labor relation legislation, the trade unions must strengthen the control exercised by labor collectives in resolving all working and living problems of the people and broadening the participation of their organizations in production planning and management. It is a question of further enhancing their role in the implementation of CPSU economic strategy, the highest objective of which is concern for the good of the people, the satisfaction of their material and spiritual needs and the intensive struggle waged for the implementation of the 11th Five-Year Plan. Our trade unions consider this not only their direct obligation but their high patriotic duty as well.

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## COMMON SENSE IMPERATIVE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 84 (signed to press 4 Jul 84) pp 77-88

[Article by Ivan Paderin]

[Text] Dawn was breaking in July 1944. In the forest by Zapadnyy Bug it was happening slowly, as though unwillingly. Initially, the tops of the tall pines emerged from the darkness, followed by jagged rows of pointed spruce; the darkness was lifted from the shrubs along the banks, the dew glistened on the helmets of the guards and the bluish fog over the river lost some of its thickness.

"We shall be moving soon," sighed Lt Leonid Ladyzhenko, nudging his neighbor. He was tired of lying motionless on the ground, and it was obvious that the short July night seemed to him endless. This Komsomol organizer in the 220th Guards Regiment, a dark-complexioned Siberian from the Yenisey, was restless. He never mounted an attack without carrying a flare gun which said "Here I am, follow me!" Now he was impatient to see if the guardsmen would follow him as they had when they were expelling the Hitlerite aggressors from their native land, for beyond the Bug lay Poland...

A "Katyusha" volley broke the morning silence. Artillery batteries thundered and it was as though a crust of land had come closer to the riverbed. It was as though the wind were driving the Komsomol organizer. Tall and fast-moving, he ran headlong to the company of submachine gunners in accordance with previously made plans of crossing the Bug and the reconnoitered part of the ford. No more than 20 minutes later bursts of our submachine guns were heard on the other side of the river and a green flare rose up in the sky. The Komsomol organizer was signaling "Forward, the bridgehead has been taken!"

The entire regiment, fording, swimming or sailing on rafts, feeling neither the softness of the ground nor the coolness of the water, crossed Zapadnyy Bug--the border separating the Soviet Union from Poland.

The Polish settlement of Gniszuw already lay behind, to the right. This took place at 7 am on the morning of 20 July 1944. By 10 am two corps of the Eighth Guards Army--the very same whose units had withstood the fierce enemy pressure on the streets of Stalingrad, had subsequently fought in the Donbass,

stormed Zaporozhe and captured Odessa and Kovel, had taken the bridgehead on the Western bank of the Bug along a 15-kilometer-wide front.

Lublin and Lublin Heights lay ahead. In all likelihood the enemy had set up strong defenses in the area, covering the approaches to the Vistula and the center of Poland. It was necessary to stop, look around and have another talk with the personnel of companies and battalions on a subject important to the political workers--preserving the honor of the Soviet troops in a neighboring country.

Let us emphasize that the humanism of the Soviet soldier was manifested above all in his dedicated and merciless struggle against the Hitlerite aggressors in a heavy and exhausting struggle. Did the people retain the strength which had helped them to find daring solutions, to hurl themselves in the whirlpool of fire and to risk their lives for the sake of expelling the hated aggressors from their native land? That target had been reached, although the cost had been high! Now it was necessary to wait for the people to look around and, after some consideration, ask: What is the purpose of our efforts? It is the land of our neighbors which now lies ahead and the struggle for their liberation from the fascists which would require new and costly sacrifices.... However, the enemy should not be given the hope of remaining in Poland and avoiding total routing. Off with fatigue and doubt.... Forward, forward!

The pace of the advance toward Lublin was increasing. Wherever centers of resistance were noted, guns, mortars and tanks entered the fray without delay....

Already on the eastern bank of Zapadnyy Bug political workers and commanders had instilled in the personnel of companies and battalions that they must be polite with the population of liberated Polish cities and towns. They must not violate their customs. The treatment of captured soldiers and officers was a subject of particular discussions: "We are defeating the enemy not with thoughtless cruelty but with our fighting skill."

"Naturally, those who give up will not be harmed, even if they are fascist," the guardsmen answered. "Difficult though it may be, that is how it is."

It was at that point that a drastic change was noticed in the behavior of Hitlerite soldiers on the battlefield. In retreating, feeling the direct fire of our machine guns at their backs, they would fall down without any sign of life. However, extensive battle experience had taught us that such could not be the case. The instantaneous death of the entire body is a rare exception. Even someone shot directly in the head does not fall down immediately but continues for a few seconds to run or toss himself about, waving his arms and writhing. People fall dead on the battlefield only in the movies. This meant that Hitler's soldiers were playing dead in order to stay alive.

Beyond the Bug the guardsmen captured more than 100 fascist soldiers who they took to the assembling point for prisoners of war. There they were fed from the regimental kitchen and given cigarettes. Let them see and remember that we do not bear grudges, that we can control evil and vengeance....

It may have seemed unnecessary to go back to this topic.

But then a group of regimental scouts returned from a village without a prisoner.

"What happened, why did you fail to carry out your assignment?"

The scouts kept silent.

"Where is the prisoner?"

"We do not need a prisoner here," mumbled a scout. "The regiment should bypass this hell, otherwise no one would ever take a prisoner for the entire war."

The hell was not far from Lublin. It was named Majdanek. It was a huge stretch of swampy land surrounded by three rows of barbed wire dominated by guard towers with machine guns. It was a death camp where, as we were then told by the local population, hundreds of thousands of men, women and children had been exterminated. Every day the Hitlerites brought here thousands of people not one of whom came back. It was as though the bottomless swamp swallowed them without a trace.... Concrete-lined paths meandered between the barracks--blocks with barred windows. Pipes rose up on some of the buildings. Under them, in semi-underground installations were furnaces, many furnaces.... Here were also the warehouses filled with bales and mats filled with women's hair. Not far from them were three blocks for children. The age of the children was hard to determine, for all of them were lying motionless, although still breathing. Not one of them could speak. The silent victims of hunger. It was stifling and it stank.

"We began to take the children out of the barracks," reported the commander of the scouting company. "I took two children out of the block and immediately noted that my shirt turned grey. An orderly took a broom and started sweeping.... No, it was not dust but, may the fascists be damned, lice."

Who knows, perhaps the Hitlerite monsters were feeding the lice with the children's bodies to use them in experiments with living and healthy people. How could one suppress within oneself that burning feeling which makes one recall that one has an automatic, grenades and a pistol! However, not a single supervisor or "stoker," not one "barber" or "warden" of the children's block was visible. All of them, sensing the approach of the guardsmen from Stalingrad, had been able to flee toward Lublin.

After hearing the brief report of the scouts on what they had seen in Majdanek, division commander Gen Vagin Leonid Ivanovich made the unusual yet the only correct decision:

"I forbid, I categorically forbid the entire division personnel to stop here even for 5 minutes.... Take the companies and battalions toward Lublin without delay!"...

This was not Vagin's first year as a division commander. He was aware of the full complexity of political work with the personnel at this stage. His order was obeyed efficiently and strictly: all division regiments, bypassing Majdanek, rushed toward Lublin.

To this day it is difficult to imagine what would have taken place had the regiment guardsmen seen the children's blocks, looking for fascists to kill. No one would have listened to admonitions, with a heart quaking with anger and a seething chest. It was particularly difficult to talk to those whose relatives had been killed by the Hitlerites soldiers. Such people in the regiment were in the hundreds. It could have indeed happened that no one would undertake to capture German soldiers.... The division commander's decision was correct, very correct....

On the approaches to Lublin, at the railroad crossing, our tankmen crushed an enemy antitank battery. The surviving fascists and their commander surrendered. Our submachine gunners, headed by Guards Senior Sgt Yukhim Remenyuk caught up with them. The tankmen instructed him to take the captured officer to regimental headquarters.

The Hitlerite officer was walking with his head hung low and was unable to understand why the sergeant was breathing hotly down his neck, gasping and frequently stumbling. Was he sick or was he very tired?

No, Yukhim was healthy and not tired. He simply found it difficult to control his objection to the order of "Deliver the officer in hale and hearty condition." He held a machine gun and his finger was on the trigger.... His teeth were clenched tight and the guardsman found himself unable to loosen up his finger....

While they were still fighting in Stalingrad, Yukhim had told his friends:

"We shall withstand and then advance to the west, to the Ukraine. My village, Vishnevaya Dolina, is before Barvenkovo. My wife Yarinka, my daughter Oksana and my old father and mother live there. It is a nice place, with beehives, a garden and open space."

The guards regiment advanced toward Barvenkovo in September 1943. Yukhim was the first to enter his village and to rush to his house. There was no yard and no house. Only ruins. The garden had burned, and only an old apple tree was still standing.... On it the Hitlerites had hanged his father, and immediately after that had killed his mother.... A neighbor told him that his wife and daughter, who were hiding in the cellar, had been driven to the west by the fascists.

From there on Yukhim Remenyuk's friends never saw him smile. He remained silent, even when he was awarded the Order of the Red Star "For Courage." His heart had turned to stone. Now, the back of the neck of a Hitlerite officer was in front of him. If not he, it was someone like him who had ordered the burning of the village and the hanging of his father and personally put two bullets into his mother's head.... He felt his throat constrict and the blood

rushing toward his head. No more than 200 steps remained to headquarters. At that point he heard close by someone's noisy breathing, and Lieutenant Ladychenko, the regimental Komsomol organizer, walked up to him.

"Good man, Yukhim! You are a strong man and the strong can always control their anger...."

Yukhim gave these words his own interpretation and frowned even more, without losing sight of the line stretching from the barrel of the machine gun to the neck of the prisoner. Suddenly, his line of vision was blocked by the shoulder of the Komsomol organizer. "What a strange man, risking his life," thought Yukhim. "Why? He himself said that the strong know how to control their anger. That has always been the case...."

The prisoner was interrogated by Regimental Commander Mikhail Stepanovich Sheykin, whose order was to eliminate enemy defense strongpoints in the southeastern suburbs of Lublin. The prisoner provided the necessary information and Yukhim Remenyuk was given a citation.

"As to your wife Yarinka and daughter Oksana," the regimental commander said, "If they are alive we shall be looking for them all the way to Berlin."

It was not known at that time that Yukhim's wife and daughter had died in Majdanek.

On the evening of 24 July, Moscow saluted the participants in the liberation of Lublin. Our 79th Guards Division was given the name Lublin. On that same evening a demonstration was held on the streets of the city. Tens of thousands of citizens enthusiastically welcomed the guardsmen. A Lublin amateur was able to photograph Yukhim Remenyuk and to put his portrait, 1 meter tall, at the entrance of a store: a sullen guardsman with a submachine gun and flowers on his chest. The people smiled at him. They had seen and felt that he, like the other Soviet soldiers, had brought to Poland freedom from fascism.

After crossing the Lublin heights, our regiments started advancing along the smooth northwestern slopes. They bypassed settlements and rested in the forests and among the bushes. Our task was to reach the Vistula quickly and silently, without drawing attention to ourselves.

We could hear on our left the rumbling of the channels and twists of the broad and full Vistula. From afar the water of the river looked like rushing lead; at dark and in the night it was the blackness of a bottomless pit. At night the entire river looked like a huge crack in the ground. It was as though at this point the European continent was splitting in two in order to stop us. Its width kept increasing as the regiments followed the current along the eastern bank of the Vistula. Would this be a hitch? Would this water obstacle stop and cool off even the most heated characters? An unknown danger is always more terrifying....

For more than a day and a half--two nights and one day--company and battalion commanders stole glances at the Vistula trying to see something on the other side of the river.

During a brief halt the regimental commander summoned commanders and political workers and asked them to report on the mood of the people.

"It is a militant guardsman mood and, after we have fed them, it will be even higher," answered the commander of the first battalion, concealing his excitement.

The regimental commander liked the answer and joked:

"Sated people get sleepy."

A little bird twittered over their heads.

"Calm down, we shall be off soon," the regimental commander told the bird as he listened to the reports. The turn of the company commanders came. All of them were cheerful but concerned. The battalion deputy political commanders and company party organizers spoke in the same key. This was to be expected, for the commander and the deputy commander for political affairs worked together well.

The regimental commander and deputy commander for political affairs visited the Sixth company. Its commanding officer, Lt Vladimir Burba, a handsome, well-proportioned officer from Radomyshl, Zhitomir Oblast, took them to the company kitchen where thermoses were lined up under the branches of a fallen tree. When opened, they released the aroma of a fatty soup and buckwheat porridge with meat. Standing near them, ladle in hand, was the company commander's orderly private Petr Khlyustin. The company's master sergeant had assigned him to distribute the soup and porridge and he was summoning the people, somewhat plaintively:

"Soup, porridge... Take some.... There will be second helpings."

"With a stomach wound porridge is worse than lead or a grenade," an experienced guardsman answered him on his way to the teakettle, where a long line had formed.

Not even the division commander knew where, when and how the Vistula would be crossed, while privates and sergeants were already getting ready for the crossing and for the hard fighting on the other side. Everyone knew that no one in battle is ensured against fragments and bullets, particularly being hit in the stomach, for which reason tea and biscuits were preferred.

Under the trees, next to the kitbags and boxes with machine gun cartridge belts there stood bundles of dry brushwood, boards, poles and flat jerrikans captured from the enemy; many people had somehow managed to get hold of life jackets and automobile tires and here and there one could see bags made of tarpaulin, stuffed with dry grass. Generally speaking, anything which would

help the people remain afloat and move weapons, grenades and cartridges across the river had been assembled.

"It looks as though you have decided to anticipate the order of the command," said the regimental commander to the guardsmen surrounding him.

"Not to anticipate but to guess the thoughts of the command. Surprise is the mother of success in battle," was the answer.

"These are strategists," noted the deputy political commander, urging on the conversation.

"We are not strategists but we have some ideas. Today at some point we shall have to cross the Vistula. Why?... What are we, stupid? If we cross the Vistula we can strike the Hitlerites near Warsaw at their flank. Along the ridge. We must liberate Warsaw sooner and the Poles will understand better why we are here."

"What should I do with the soup and the porridge?" the company commander's orderly said, joining the conversation.

"Feed them to the fish, Petya. You too are a politician. The pike in the Vistula are hungry. They too must be won over," the company commander answered.

It was clear that the store of offensive energy on the part of the Stalingrad guardsmen had not dried out here as well, in Poland, facing the broad and high Vistula.

The night of 1 August was warm and windless. The darkness was smothering, as though the night was covered with a heavy gray fabric, thick and sticky. Whitish fog lay on the water. Three boats with scouts, headed by Capt Vasiliy Grafchiko, split the darkness. Not a single splash or squeak of an oar lock could be heard. They sailed in the darkness with their automatics, grenades and walkie-talkies. They showed up on the other side of the Vistula like invisible ghosts. The Hitlerites were unable to open fire at them with the two machine guns aimed at the approaches to the bank. Advancing along a trench, the scouts captured a pillbox and turned on the walkie-talkie: "We are moving toward Malyy Magnush, we await reinforcements!"...

They were followed across the Vistula by an infantry battalion commanded by Yefim Tsitovskiy. The battalion guardsmen joined the battle for Malyy Magnush village, distracting the enemy and thus facilitating the landing of other division subunits on the western bank. Battalion Commander Yefim Grigor'yevich Tsitovskiy was awarded the title Hero of the Soviet Union for this exploit.

At dawn on 1 August the regiments of the first echelon of the Eighth Guards Army crossed the Vistula essentially with makeshift means and clung to the opposite shore after capturing three small bridgeheads.

The 220th Regiment hurriedly bypassed Malyy Magnush village on the right. However, encountering strong fire on the left, it stopped. By midday the neighboring regiment had thrown the Hitlerites out of the village. As a result of the 1 August battles, the small bridgeheads merged into a single one some 10 kilometers wide and 5 kilometers deep. The Magnush bridgehead was thus established.

The division and corps command centers moved there on 2 and 3 August. Battles were started to broaden the bridgehead which, as planned by our command, was becoming a powerful trampoline for major front forces which would split Poland in two and open the straightest possible way to Berlin. The Hitlerite generals threw here mostly major air forces above all. It was as though the sky opened and thousands of bombs fell on the bridgehead. The sun darkened. To us it looked like a yellow track on the roof of a house without walls.

Junkers, Fokke-Wulfs and Messerschmitts began to circle over the Vistula. The ferrying of guns, tanks and other reinforcements during the day stopped. Meanwhile, German tanks and self-propelled guns appeared in front of the infantry battalion which had seized the bridgehead. The bridgehead defenders repelled their attacks with grenades, antitank rifles and infantry weapons for 2 days with retreating. They fought as they had fought at Stalingrad.

On the night of 6 August, the heavy tanks of the Herman Goehring Division reached the right side of the bridgehead, rolling along the Radomka River. They massed against the 79th Guards Division, the same division whose regiments and battalions had defended Mamayev Kurgan, the key position in the defense of Stalingrad. Here they had to defend the flank of the bridgehead. On Polish soil as well the guards remained true to themselves. Posters and leaflets showed up in the trenches and foxholes: "Hit the tanks of moneybags Herman Goehring!" The battle began.... It was a test of the moral strength of our troops in the struggle against the armored fortresses of Hitler's Wehrmacht on Polish territory.

The Sixth Company, commanded by Lt Vladimir Burba, had dug itself into the sloping sector of a rye field. The color of the ripe but unharvested rye blended with that of the blouses and forage caps of the guardsmen. Eight Tigers rolled toward the field. The tank crews apparently believed that they would find no resistance here, as though they had sensed a breach in the defense of the bridgehead through which they could reach the bank of the Vistula. They could sink the moorings, undercut the very roots of the bridgehead and then destroy the units within it.

"This must not happen! Furthermore, we shall not let the ripe rye perish!" Lieutenant Burba resolved.

The tanks were already within grenade-throwing range. The antitank bullets were merely triggering sparks on the Tiger armor. Grenades, bundles of grenades, started flying from the trenches. The leading tank, however, had already approached the company ammunition dump where the lieutenant with his orderly Petr Khlyustin stood. Grabbing two bundles of grenades, Burba threw himself under a tank! Following the example of his commander, Petr

Khlyustin--a short 18-year-old boy, the son of a peasant woman from Smolensk, rushed against the second tank. As he rushed, he immediately became a terrible giant. He held two bundles of grenades in his hands. A machine gun started firing from the Tiger tower but the boy turned around, reached the "dead" space and exploded the grenade bundles under the tank's treads, blowing himself up with it....

The two Tigers stopped before the rye field and the others turned back!

Marshal of the Soviet Union G. K. Zhukov was immediately informed of the exploit. The soldiers at the bridgehead, who had witnessed the fight against the tanks of the Herman Goehring division, described the exploit of Lt Vladimir Burba and his orderly Petr Khlyustin with tears in their eyes. "I myself," recalls this military leader in his wartime memoirs, "cannot listen without emotion and sadness to the tale of the deaths of such courageous people, loyal to the homeland."

By USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium ukase Guards Lt Vladimir Trofimovich Burba and Private Petr Andreyevich Khlyustin were awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union posthumously. They carried within them loyalty to the homeland, international duty and readiness to give their lives for the sake of expelling the Hitlerite aggressors from Polish soil. There were many others like them! There were thousands, tens of thousands, all those who had to withstand at the Magnush bridgehead.

The enemy's fierce infantry and tank attacks against the positions of the guard units which had crossed the Vistula went on for several days with increasing force. However, no one intended to abandon the bridgehead. They stood to the death, as they had on the streets of Stalingrad.

It was there, on Polish soil, that Capt Nikolay Vasil'yevich Kalutskiy, battery commander in the 1,229th Artillery Regiment, made an unusual decision in artillery practice: he called for fire on himself.

He was directing the fire of mortars positioned in the grove before the Vistula, standing on the bridgehead in the trenches of the infantry subunit. From morning to midday the heavy shells were preventing the enemy tanks from crushing the defense of the minute bridgehead. Seven attacks were beaten off. The eighth began. Tanks and self-propelled guns fired at trenches and foxholes and broke telephone communications. All that was left was a walkie-talkie with the help of which Kalutskiy was guiding the fire. However, the piles of steel crawled toward him from two sides. Death was inevitable. Kalutskiy broadcast "NZO-I!"

This is an artillery code indicating extreme emergency. On this call an artilleryman draws fire on himself based on coordinates set in advance. The regimental commander was skeptical:

"Who is requesting 'NZO-I?' Identify yourself."

Kalutskiy identified himself and with open text transmitted:

"Comrade Lieutenant Colonel, quickly, fire on me!"

The order was sounded on the air:

"Regiment! Four shells on Kalutskiy.... Quick fire!"

The shells exploded 20 seconds later. They were followed by a second and a third volley....

As though able to see his comrades at the time they were loading the mortars, checking their sights, firing and perhaps crying, Kalutskiy cheered them on:

"Fire! Fire! We don't mind...."

The fourth volley silenced his voice.

The tank attack was repelled. Three enemy tanks and three self-propelled guns froze over the destroyed trenches where Kalutskiy had been.

That evening, fresh divisions were able to cross the Vistula.

Kalutskiy was found among other dead comrades--communications troops and submachine gunners. He was picked up from the bottom of a trench, his body torn by fragments, unconscious, his pulse almost nonexistent. However, he survived. This powerful character and strong heart defeated death.

Today Hero of the Soviet Union Nikolay Vasil'yevich Kalutskiy lives in Moscow. He is actively at work at the Literature Association of the TsDSA [Central House of the Soviet Army] and writes about his combat experiences.

That is the way our troops defended the areas they had captured on Polish soil.

Meanwhile, engineering units were able to build two bridges. Ferryboats began to operate and the Magnush bridgehead turned into the trampoline from which a jump was to take place across Poland to the German borders.

Toward the end of 1944 it became known that the offensive mounted by the fascist divisions against the Anglo-American forces had put the allies in a most difficult situation.... This news reached the trenches, foxholes and dugouts of the Magnush bridgehead. The faces and the eyes of the regimental forces expressed thoughtfulness, annoyance and readiness to hurl themselves on the enemy fortifications and thus to alleviate the situation of the allies. No, my regiment did not forget that during a most difficult period for us, during the heavy battles for Stalingrad, the Allies had promised but failed to open a second front. They did not forget, but other forces began to influence their minds, which called for fulfilling their duty as allies. But how? Not everything was ready for breaching the powerful defense installations built by the enemy along the long strip from the Vistula to the Oder. Furthermore, the weather had become so bad that for days on end one could not identify and locate the firing and observation points of the enemy. People could not be led ahead blindly, without air and artillery cover.

At that time we did not know about the letter Churchill had written to Stalin: "I would appreciate it if you could inform me as to whether we could hope for a large-scale Russian offensive on the Vistula front or anywhere else during January or at any other time which you may wish to mention.... I consider the matter urgent."

Stalin answered: "We are preparing for an offensive but the weather now does not favor our offensive. However, considering the situation of our allies on the Western Front, Supreme Command Headquarters decided to complete preparations at a faster pace and, regardless of the weather, start wide offensive operations against the Germans along the entire Central Front no later than during the second half of January. You may rest assured that we shall do everything we can to assist our great allied forces."

I repeat, the soldiers and officers of the regiment were unfamiliar with the decisions of the Supreme Command. However, the sensitive soldierly understanding of the situation of the allies in the Ardennes was once again impeccable. The concentration of tanks, artillery and other means of crushing the moral and physical enemy forces at the bridgehead became such that essentially all party political work with the personnel was reduced to one thing only: Pay no attention to the tightness of the trenches and foxholes and coordinate with the tankmen, the artillerymen and the sappers.

On the morning of 14 January more than 10,000 guns loosed an avalanche of shells from the two bridgeheads--Magnush and Pulawi--which were covered with dense fog. The volleys of the guns and rocket artillery and the explosions of the shells and mortars shook the air and the ground, as though the entire universe was shaking with fever. A wall of molten metal poured on the Hitlerite fortifications. It looked as though even the thick fog had risen skyward like a hot flame, crushing all fascist hopes of remaining alive. It was thus that for 30 minutes the power of the blast and Martin furnaces of Magnitka, Kuznetsk and Taganrog and the metallurgical workers in the Far East raged. Actually, it was the entire country crushing the enemy defenses in front of our bridgeheads. Every exploding shell and volley brought the guardsmen closer to the decisive thrust.

Half an hour later, when the fiery wave shifted deep into the enemy's defense lines, companies and battalions irrepressibly rushed forward.

We cannot say that the heavily fortified enemy positions were breached simply and without losses. However, at no point were there hitches or stops. Ahead of us our own shells were exploding! Could we stay behind! Here even the hot metal of our native country was calling us forward.

Finally, the enemy's defenses were breached along their entire depth. The troops--infantry, tanks and artillery--rushed in and, finishing off the Hitlerite units scattered along the Vistula, rushed west across the roads and fields of Poland. I had never seen during the entire war my regiment so excited and proud of its liberating mission. All that remains to be mentioned is that new trials lay ahead and that the homeland was expecting of us even happier news.

Our units moved headlong through cities and villages in the western Polish voievodstva. Nevertheless, the news of the objective of our offensive caught up with us. Here in every city and settlement Polish people, young people in particular, in welcoming our tanks, infantry and artillery, expressed their readiness to take part in the battles against the Hitlerite aggressors, side by side with the Soviet troops. We, political workers, had to work hard to prevent unnecessary losses, for untrained people are a good target for the enemy.

We crossed the German border on the run, not even noticing the border markers, Polish or German. This took place by the end of January 1945.

So this was Germany, from which the evil flame of World War II had burst and from where the divisions of the Hitlerite aggressors, the violators, the hangmen, the plunderers had come to our land. How to forget all this, how to suppress feelings of anger and eliminate from the mind the right to retribution, when one could see the German cities, castles and gardens untouched by the war, where the Nazi monsters and executioners had been raised? One can neither reject nor command a memory. It has its own laws. What about consciousness? It was at this point that the effectiveness of the entire system of party political work in units and subunits and with every individual soldier could be tested. For every one of us at that time had to fight the enemy and...himself. The appearance of a "second front," the name we gave at that time to the efforts to tame the feelings of revenge, was not unexpected by commanders and political workers. However, the need to surmount this psychological barrier demanded a sharp turn from "Kill the Germans" to instilling the idea that we had come here to save the German people from Hitlerite fascism.

It comes as no surprise that this barrier was crossed quite easily and rapidly, literally during the first days of entering German soil: such is the Soviet soldier. Scorn for blind cruelty had been instilled from the day the Red Army was born and with his mother's milk.

Facts?... Here they are!

In order to reach the Oder as quickly as possible, submachine and machine gun troops, antitank riflemen and the crews of the battalion mortars of the 220th regiment rode on tanks. I was holding onto the right side of a turret of a T-34 tank, together with two snipers, the experienced Viktor Medvedev, who had killed more than 200 Hitlerites at the battles for Stalingrad and was subsequently made Hero of the Soviet Union, and Leonid Prudnikov, a new recruit from Siberia, a recent addition to the snipers' group. Six machine and submachine gunners were riding on the left side of the turret and on the engine grid. The joint task was to watch closely the flanks and to protect the tank from bazooka fire.

We crossed the Mezeritz fortified area in spurts and dashes from one cover to another. We could see on our right and left in the fields and glades small isolated groups of soldiers of units of the Third Reich, who had already become demoralized on Polish territory. It looked as though at this point the

young sniper and Siberian hunter Prudnikov, who never missed his target, could greatly increase his "personal" score. However, looking at his mentor, he even closed his cartridge pouch. The machine gunners could have fired too. However, they were not adjusting their sights.

Someone teased them:

"Machine gunners.... Are you expecting a bonus for saving on bullets?"

"We can do without a bonus."

"Why don't you shoot just to frighten them, to make them move faster to the high road with their hands up. Look there, an entire group."

"I can see them. They are unarmed."

"Look closely, you will see some of them armed. Fire at them selectively!"

"Selectively.... Let the snipers do that."

My neighbors Medvedev and Prudnikov looked at one another as though it did not concern them.

"The snipers are woolgathering while you are awake, what kind of swill is that!" submachine gunner Fedor Rychkov, whose hoarse voice I recognized, continued to insist.

"Swill...." machine gunner Andrey Dovzhikov seemed to agree but immediately expressed doubt: "What if some of them are civilians?..."

"And have you forgotten how in the Ukraine and on the Don machine guns were killing even students in the fields? Those pigs were shooting children in the back!..."

"True, they were swine, but what are you and I? Don't forget yourself! My conscience would bother me for blood shed in vain for the rest of my life and I want to grow old in a human way."

I did not interfere in this argument between the experienced guardsmen, for I was convinced that they were testing one another's moral strength in the eyes of the young fellow soldiers.

At the junction of two country roads, retreating German soldiers, more than 20 of them, had gathered together. Noticing our tank with infantry, they lined up in two rows, turned around to face us, raised their automatics and rifles above their heads and threw them on the road. They had no other choice, for they could not go far running away from a tank or a bullet.

"You see what happens!" Andrey Dovzhikov said triumphantly.

One of the prisoners was an officer.

He was unable to explain even to himself what had happened to the Hitlerite army after the loss of the defensive positions on the Vistula and why not even along a single line from the Vistula to this point, on German territory, had the Fuehrer's generals been able to stop the Russians. Furthermore, how could such a thrust be contained? All German soldiers and officers who had kept their lives after the terrible strike at Warsaw had lost their minds and their obedience. They were devastated. Nothing human was left in them.

This man, a trained zoologist, had been commissioned an officer during the period of total mobilization and he had trouble distinguishing between the animals and the soldiers with which he had to deal during the retreat. All they wanted was not to die of hunger and cold and Russian fire! In his view, the Poles had suddenly become nasty misers. Now their barns had no place where German soldiers could spend the night.

"How did you set the Poles against us?" he asked.

"Through belief in life without violators," I answered.

"And what will happen to us, to Germany?"

"The likes of Hitler come and go but the German people remain," he was told by the tank commander who spoke German.

Hand-rolled cigarettes were lit up. Our submachine and machine gunners opened their bags and shared biscuits and lumps of sugar with the hungry and cold German soldiers. Another dozen or so soldiers came from the nearby glen on the right and as many from the left. They were from the reserve division which had hurried to set up positions on the Mezeritz fortified area but had failed, scattered by our tanks. Lieutenant General Lube, the divisional commander, had surrendered and his soldiers too wanted to stay alive.

In the evening of 1 February the companies of the 220th regiment, together with the tanks, took Goritz, stone houses with sharp-tiled roofs, breakwalls and nice yards. Gates and doors stood open. Not a soul was to be seen. The Hitlerite gendarmes had chased away in savage haste the population--women, children and the elderly. Strung along the yards and streets were suitcases, featherbeds, pillows, prams.... However, in almost every house we could hear voices of men and women, worried, high-pitched. These were the announcers on Radio Berlin, warning of the approach of the terrible threat from the east and transmitting the Fuehrer's call that "Germany is invincible!" The refugees were forbidden to turn off their radios which tirelessly filled the empty houses with fear of the invading devil.

The darkness thickened and cows began to moo in the yards. Milking time had come. The mooing became louder, prolonged and demanding. Despite the fatigue one could not sleep. Company master sergeants and farmers began to look in yards, back streets and basements for milkmaids or at least for barn keys. They found an elderly man with keys and then three women who, in turn, told them where to look for the population hiding from the police. By midnight the cows fell silent.

Meanwhile, scouts had been able to check the approach to the Oder. The river could be crossed only on the ice and only by infantry without tanks for the ice was thin and sporadic....

On the morning of 2 February, the First and Second Infantry Battalions of the regiment reached the opposite bank and by midday were at the foothills of Elevation 81.5. It was only here that they met with a more or less organized resistance offered provided by the Berlin Volksturm detachments, which had been brought up by train to Podeltzig station. However, the Hitlerites were unable to hold the elevation. The main forces of our division, which had hurried up, forced them to retreat back to their trains. Diver aircraft from the Berlin airfields started circling in the sky. They broke up the ice which began to crack up on the Oder. However, this did not stop the main forces of the corps from crossing. Three days later the bridgehead south of Kustrin reached 10 kilometers in width and 3 in depth. The order was received to stop and secure the positions.

The distance to Berlin was 60 kilometers and it was difficult to convince the guardsmen, who had covered so quickly almost 500 kilometers, to assume defensive positions, dig themselves in in the rocky soil, and build dugouts and foxholes, but an order is an order.

During those days, when the Soviet army was rapidly advancing to the west, the roads were literally crowded with people in striped clothing. The hungry, tortured and helpless liberated inmates of Hitlerite concentration camps needed help, and food centers were organized for them.

It was here, in those centers, that all of Europe became well familiar with the Soviet soldier. Here is what I was told about work with repatriated war veterans by Iosif Gummer, who was awarded the soldier's Order of Glory Third Class. He was left behind in the town of Rembert, not far from Warsaw.

"Here there were people of 20 nationalities--French, Italian, Danish, Hungarian, Czech, Serbian, Spanish....and all of them were fed, given warm clothing and even cash, not very much but enough for pocket money nevertheless. How come?! they asked, astonished, for they had been told that the Soviet soldiers hated anyone who had fought against them. Here, however, not a word of blame could be heard, there was only concern...."

Here is another case:

Late one evening one displaced person found himself without cigarettes. It was useless to ask his neighbor, for even if cigarettes were to be found, they were extremely expensive.... He went to a Soviet soldier, who shared with him his makhorka ration. At first the displaced people were astounded by such generosity but then they became accustomed to it, as though nothing else was possible.

It was thus that the Soviet troops brought to Europe their bright soul instead of cruelty.

Soldierly humanism.... Humaneness and arms sound like something unusual, incompatible. Nevertheless, such was the case, for in the struggle for the full liberation of the peoples of Europe from the yoke of Hitlerite military dictatorship, the Soviet troops displayed true models of socialist humanism. By the call of their mind, perfect masters of their weaponry and knowledgeable in military affairs, they carried within them inexhaustible reserves of moral strength, considered goodness, love of man and faith in the triumph of social justice. Victory was unaware of such humanist soldiers before the birth of the Red Army. This means that we are armed with an invincible weapon which has never existed nor will exist in the armies of the imperialist camp. That is what the Western ideologues have not mentioned so far, hiding from their peoples the nature of our Soviet soldiers. The reason for which they pour their slanderous filth on them is clear, for the truth about them gouge out the eyes of those who have declared a "crusade" against communism.

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## POLAND: FORTY YEARS ALONG THE ROAD TO SOCIALISM

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[Article by Tadeusz Porembski, Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee secretary]

[Text] In the final third of June 1944, continuing its heroic struggle against the fascist aggressors, the Red Army mounted a major offensive as a result of which the enemy's resistance on the central sector of the front crumbled. The Soviet troops reached the Bug on 20 July and, crossing the river, stepped onto Polish soil. The manifesto of the Polish Committee for National Liberation (PCNL) was issued in liberated Chelm on 22 July.

The PCNL manifesto was an event of truly historical significance for Poland. It was precisely this manifesto which became the first official document of the people's regime. It proclaimed profound social changes, including the nationalization of industry, agrarian reform and the return to Poland of age-old Polish Pyasty lands along the Oder-Neisse line and in the Baltic area; all Poles in the country and abroad were called upon to fight for the final defeat of Hitlerite Germany.

The Polish Committee for National Liberation exercised its right to seize power by the will of the country's National Council as the only legitimate authority and democratic representative of the entire people. This meant that the political forces, rallied around the Polish Labor Party, and represented in the Krayova Rada Narodova, assumed full responsibility for the further organization of the struggle for the independence of Poland, the restoration of its statehood and the destinies of the people.

It was thus that the leading role of the working class acquired its governmental and legal embodiment. Henceforth, allied with the peasantry and together with all other democratic forces, the working class was to become the creator of the reborn state and its system, as well as the main factor in subsequent changes. It was thus that a new chapter began in the thousand-year-old history of Poland.

The publication of the PCNL manifesto was a most important revolutionary event in our country. It was not an accidental phenomenon or the result of a lucky development of circumstances but a completion of the struggle which the

revolutionary wing of the Polish labor movement for national and social liberation had waged for decades. It involved the participation of tens of thousands of revolutionaries: members of the "Proletariat," the Social Democrats of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania, the left-wing Polish Socialist Party, the Communist Party of Poland and, finally, the Polish Labor Party (PPR).

It was thanks to this systematic struggle, full of privations and sacrifices, that profound changes took place within the Polish working class, which led to the conscious choice of a political and social aspect of reborn Poland.

The September 1939 catastrophe clearly proved the extent of the weakness and corruption of bourgeois-landlord Poland. Most Poles will never forget the bitter memories of unemployment, poverty, economic and cultural backwardness and sharp social contrasts and the terror directed against any manifestation of progressive political thinking, the sinister symbol of which was the unrestrained pogroms and the Bereza Kartuskaya concentration camp. We shall never forget the exploitation of our homeland by international capitalism and the stress caused by the heterogeneous ethnic structure of the country. The Polish people have particularly bad memories of the inability of the bourgeois prewar governments to pursue an effective foreign policy. Their policies had made impossible the establishment of friendly relations with our largest and strongest neighbor--the Soviet Union--despite its numerous initiatives aimed at concluding a defense alliance in the face of the threat of aggression by Hitlerite Germany. Instead, alliances which, as practical experience proved, did not guarantee Poland a safe existence, were concluded.

The Polish public became significantly radicalized as a result of the September defeat and the German occupation. The spreading of the various forms of clandestine national liberation struggle, which the Poles waged from the very onset of the Hitlerite invasion, was helped by the formulation of the programmatic concepts of political conditions for achieving independence and the necessary sociogovernmental changes after the liberation. The conviction that reborn Poland should be different from the Poland which existed between the two wars mounted and strengthened among the broad public strata.

The Polish communists were tremendously active in the clandestine national liberation struggle. Although they were not organizationally established, they enjoyed considerable influence in society, particularly among the working class. As early as the tragic days of September, communists went straight from the jails to the battle against the German-fascist aggressors. From the very first days of the occupation they developed clandestine activities, as a result of which the Polish Labor Party was founded on 5 January 1941. It became the organizer of the struggle for national and social liberation.

The year 1943 marked a decisive stage in the development of the political situation in occupied Poland. The historical victory of the Red Army at Stalingrad awakened and strengthened the hope of the peoples of all of enslaved Europe and revived the faith in the imminent liberation of our country. The fact that freedom and salvation from physical annihilation came from the East, brought by the army of a socialist country, was of tremendous importance to Polish society. This helped seriously to strengthen the leftist

trend in the liberation movement of the people, who accurately assessed the experience of the past and spoke out in favor of a reborn Poland as a democratic country in new and just boundaries, building its relations with the Soviet Union on the basis of the principles of good neighborliness, alliance and all-round cooperation.

The Polish Labor Party, which had opposed the aggressors from the very beginning, actively supported the idea of the creation of a national people's front of struggle against the occupation forces. The idea, however, was rejected by political forces which had rallied around the bourgeois government in exile, which kept claiming the right of being the exclusive representative of the Polish people.

At that time the PPR initiated the concept of a democratic front and, as the only political party operating in the occupied country, together with the program for the struggle for independence, expressed in the declaration "What Are We Fighting For?" in November 1943, a planned program which defined the future of the people. The program included demands for radical democratic changes: seizure of power by the working people, nationalization of industry, banks and transportation, agrarian reform, development and democratization of education and culture, and broadened social rights. Polish foreign policy was to be based on alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union.

The PPR was not only able to formulate a program which reflected the expectations of the overwhelming majority of the people, but also to rally around itself all truly democratic and progressive forces. It found allies and, on the night of 1 January 1944, founded the Krayova Rada Narodova--the embryo of the new people's regime, a clandestine parliament. In addition to PPR members, it included left-wing socialists, progressive Lyudovtsy (the organized political movement of the Polish peasantry--editor) and nonparty people.

Along with the organization of the left-wing forces in the country, very important events took place among Poles on Soviet territory. The Alliance of Polish Patriots (APP), which was set up there in the spring of 1943, rallied Polish people living in the Soviet Union on the basis of the principles of a democratic front and Polish-Soviet friendship, similar to the PPR platform. Under the aegis of this organization headed by Polish communists in the USSR and with the tremendous help of the Soviet government, the First Division imeni Tadeusz Kosciuszko was raised, subsequently becoming the First Polish Army. The battle fought by the division at Lenino on 12 October 1943 became a historical symbol of Polish-Soviet brotherhood in arms and a starting point for the heroic combat path of the Polish People's Army.

As a result of the approaching liberation of Poland, the urgent need arose to coordinate the activities of the Polish left-wing forces in the country and the alliance of Polish patriots.

A representative delegation of the Krayova Rada Narodova arrived in the USSR in May 1944. As a result of discussions with the leadership of the Alliance of Polish Patriots, the Krayova Rada Narodova was acknowledged by the leadership of the APP as the true representative of the Polish people. The

Soviet government as well recognized the Krayova Rada Narodova as the representative of the Polish people and the leading center of the future authorities in liberated Poland.

The PCNL--the provisional authority of the working people--which had been set up in accordance with the previous plans of the Polish Labor Party and the Krayova Rada Narodova--began its activities on 21 July 1944. The decision for this was made on the evening of 20 July 1944 in Moscow, at a meeting of representatives of the Krayova Rada Narodova for the liberated areas. In addition to PPR representatives, who were members of the delegation which had come to the USSR, the committee included the members of the presidium of the main board of the Alliance of Polish Patriots.

On 21 July, by decree of the Krayova Rada Narodova, the Unified Polish Armed Forces were created as a result of the unification of the Polish Army in the USSR and the Partisan People's Army operating in Poland.

Historical facts supported by documents leave no doubt that the Polish revolution developed on Polish soil. Its sources were the aspirations for freedom of the people's masses and the stubborn struggle waged by many generations of revolutionaries in the course of decades. The victory of the revolution was the result of the extreme aggravation of class contradictions within the capitalist society, the intensified activeness of the working class and the people's masses in the struggle against the occupation forces and the increased awareness of the Poles, which was expressed in demands for a social reorganization, as well as the result of the organizational and political strengthening of the party of the proletariat, the fact that it found allies among the other Polish social strata and its adoption of a program which embodied the expectations of the working people. The ripening of the awareness of the Polish working people to the point of understanding the inevitability of a socialist revolution and their participation in it led to understanding the role of the Soviet Union as a class ally, the noticeable increase in pro-Soviet sympathy and the broad social recognition of the contribution made by the USSR to the liberation of Poland and gratitude to the Soviet people. The Polish left-wing forces accurately assessed these changes in the social mood and used the ratio of external factors which favored the revolution, particularly the liberation of Poland by the Red Army, the presence of which became a guarantee for the social changes taking place in our country on an essentially peaceful basis.

Poland came out victorious in World War II. The Polish armed forces, which numbered about half a million soldiers in 1945, were given the honor of fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Red Army for Berlin and to reach the Elbe. However, the losses suffered by Poland as a result of the war and the Hitlerite occupation, were heavy and truly huge. According to official data of the Military Casualties Bureau, in the course of the combat operations 644,000 Polish citizens perished; 3,577,000 were executed by the punitive forces and tortured in concentration camps; 1,286,000 people died of exhaustion and epidemics in concentration camps; 521,000 people outside concentration camps died of wounds and hunger. All in all, 6,280,000 lives were lost, or more than 22 percent of the 1939 Polish population. Let us add that about 2 million Poles became disabled for life. These are tragic figures

behind which lies crushed lives and the suffering of millions of people. It is difficult to find a family in Poland which did not lose someone in the war.

Tremendous damage was done to the Polish economy. It is estimated that it reached about 38 percent of the entire prewar wealth of the country. Industry, communications and agriculture were destroyed. Cities lay in ruins and farmland was abandoned. The Soviet people well know the scale of destruction in those parts of their homeland taken by the Hitlerites. Our entire country looked like them. Warsaw, the Polish capital, was a symbol of destruction. Virtually the entire city was in ruins, systematically swept off the face of the earth by the fascist barbarians.

The first steps of the people's regime were quite difficult. The situation in the country was further worsened by the fact that domestic reactionary forces, helped by international imperialism, were making a desperate attempt to change a course of events adverse to them.

In undertaking the peaceful construction and the rebirth of Poland and in resolving difficult problems, the Polish Labor Party won over to its side the working people and ensured their support in fulfilling a program for people's democratic change. The public rallied around the most important objectives formulated by the people's regime and around the democratic bloc of parties and organizations, which was being founded. A broad social base was being established for people's democratic changes. The success of the Democratic Bloc at the 1947 Sejm elections and the definitive defeat of the reactionary forces in the elections confirmed public recognition of the accuracy of the political line followed by the PPR and support of its measures and of all initiatives of the people's authorities.

The people's democratic changes opened the way to further socialist progress. The economic and political domination of the rich classes was destroyed. The class structure of the society and the awareness of the working people changed radically. The material and social conditions for laying the foundations for socialism were secured.

The unification between the two labor parties: the PPR and the Polish Socialist Party--on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the program for building socialism--was of very great importance. The PCPR was founded as the leading political force to guide the historical process of building socialism.

No one can deny the tremendous accomplishments of People's Poland. It would be equally impossible to ignore the tremendous changes which have taken place in our country over the past 40 years. In speaking of the 40-year-old history of socialist Poland, Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski said: "It does not include any lost time. Not one of its periods could be considered ideal, but not one of them can be condemned as completely wrong or be rejected either, for these were years of great effort and accomplishments by the people."

As V. I. Lenin repeatedly emphasized, the process of building socialism is by no means simple and some errors or failures are inevitable in the course of its development. We too were unable to avoid them. However, if we objectively assess the successes of our 40-year-old period, we can confidently

say that Poland was able to accomplish radical sociopolitical changes within a historically short time.

Under the leadership of the party of the working class--the PCPR--the working people took the country out of an incredibly backward condition, worsened by the tremendous dislocation caused by the war. The basic problem of securing the national sovereignty and security of the state within the new borders was resolved. We regained the age-old Polish lands along the Oder, the Neisse-Luzicka and the Baltic area. We are surrounded on the east, west and south by friendly neighbors. Fraternity and alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are a guarantee for our security and the inviolability of our borders. Friendly relations with the socialist states opened to us extensive opportunities for cooperation in the area of socioeconomic development.

The elimination of unemployment and a substantial improvement in the living standards of the population were the greatest achievements of this 40-year period. Compared to prewar times, industrial output increased by a factor of 14 and the per capita national income by a factor of 7.

These socioeconomic and political changes contributed to the profound shifts in the class structure of Polish society and the situation of the working people. Before the war, 70 percent of the population lived in the countryside and 60 percent were employed in agriculture. Today only 40 percent of the population lives in rural areas and slightly more than 20 percents work in agriculture.

The working class itself changed in the course of making these progressive changes. In people's Poland it became the largest main class. Before the war worker families accounted for 30 percent of the population; today they account for more than one-half. Of the overall number of people employed in the public sector of the economy, the 7.6 million working people account for 62 percent of the total and for 44 percent in the national economy.

The working class became the main economic force in Poland and the main producer of material goods. During the first years after the war 27 percent of the national income came from industry and construction, compared to 60 percent today. Before the war industrial workers accounted for 27 percent while today they account for 47 percent of all the workers. Today workers in industry, construction and transportation account for approximately 70 percent of the working class, compared to no more than 35 percent before the war.

An entire system of new social rights and institutions of the socialist state emerged over the past 40 years: a public health service, resorts for the workers, the same right to paid leave for workers engaged in physical and mental work, special benefits for women raising small children, a network of nurseries and kindergartens and a social security system which is now universal.

The main accomplishments in the areas of culture and education include the elimination of illiteracy, which was characteristic of Poland between the wars. Today there are 5.5 million Poles with secondary education and about

1.2 million with higher education. A new intelligentsia, of worker-peasant origin above all, has appeared. Socialist industrialization and technical progress contributed to the growth of the knowledge and the enhancement of production skills of workers. More than one-half of them have completed their primary or secondary vocational training. They account for two-thirds of the young generation.

The PZPR is the main link in our political system.

History has proved that the leading role of a Marxist-Leninist party is a mandatory prerequisite for building socialism, for it is precisely such a party which guarantees the organization and unity of the working class, needed in the struggle for socialism and its development, its leading role in society and its successful activities.

Today nearly 40 percent of the party members are workers. The party has retained its mass nature. After a period of a certain reduction of membership, the trend toward enrollment of new party members is increasing. Almost half of them are workers. The 16th PZPR Central Committee Plenum sessions were dedicated to the problem of further strengthening the leading role of the working class in building socialism. We have drawn our lessons from the past and firmly believe that close ties with the working class are the main feature of a Marxist-Leninist party.

Socialist democracy is systematically developing and on our party's initiative: the role of representative units is increasing; social self-management is strengthening and a system of consultations on basic governmental decisions is being developed and is becoming a dominant feature in our political life.

Today we can claim with full confidence that in the struggle for a new socioeconomic and political situation in our country the left-wing forces, whose program is fully expressed by the party of the Polish workers, have won their victory. This was accomplished above all thanks to the fact that the viewpoint of the PZPR on the way to a Renaissance and the future development of the country reflected and reflects the needs, demands and expectations of the working class and all Polish working people.

We have the right to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the founding of People's Poland with a feeling of pride in the achievements of our party, people and state. These are achievements which cannot be diminished by the temporary difficulties we are experiencing. The tremendous successes and changes in all areas of life in our country led, in the final account, to the elimination--with the approval of the overwhelming majority of the public--of the counterrevolutionary threat which appeared in 1980-1981.

In summing up the results of the past 40 years, we must remember with particular clarity the tremendous help which was given to us by our great ally--the USSR. It was precisely in the Soviet Union that the Polish armed forces were created. It was precisely the soldiers of the Red Army who liberated Poland, as confirmed by the 600,000 graves of Soviet soldiers on our territory. It was only thanks to the decisive stance of the Soviet delegation

at the Potsdam conference that the decision was made of returning to Poland age-old Polish lands on the Oder, Neisse-Luzycka and the Baltic area. Finally, it was precisely from the Soviet Union that we received tremendous economic aid from the very first days of our rebirth.

The Friendship, Mutual Aid and Postwar Cooperation Treaty, which was initialed on 21 April 1945, became the foundation of our comradely interaction. The Soviet people have given us true international support whenever we have needed it. The aid of the USSR, which was given to us in recent years and is still being received by us today, is of particularly great importance. We ascribe great importance also to the Long-Term Program for the Development of Economic and Scientific and Technical Cooperation Between the People's Republic of Poland and the USSR for the Period Through the Year 2000, which was signed this year in Moscow.

Anniversaries of great historical events always inspire thoughts of the past, the aspiration to sum up the results of victories and defeats and the desire to answer to the question of whether it was possible to do something more and better. This anniversary makes us think even more, for we are celebrating it at a particular time in our history.

We are in the process of taking our socialist homeland out of a profound socioeconomic crisis. This process was initiated with the 9th Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR. This crisis, which was, on the one hand, the result of an impudent preplanned action by international and domestic reactionary forces and, on the other, the result of errors committed by our party, threatened to void the heritage of socialist Poland and the common heritage of all working people. In implementing the resolutions of the 9th PZPR Congress, we have already achieved a great deal in eliminating the reasons and consequences of the crisis. Our main objective is to strengthen the party's authority, to intensify its Marxist-Leninist nature and to assert its leading role in building socialism.

In celebrating the 40th anniversary of people's Poland, we must also remember that we have not been able to accomplish everything within that time and that we did not do everything we could have done. This was frequently the result of inconsistency and occasionally insufficient principle-mindedness in our activities. At times, rejecting encrustations, we also negatively rejected what was good and positive in our experience. Unresolved problems in the socialist reorganization of the countryside or the programmed development of the economy are examples of such inconsistencies.

There has been a great deal of speculation in our country on the subject of "Polish socialism" or the "Polish way to socialism," and less attention to the universal principles of building socialism. All of this is now behind us. We are drawing the necessary lessons from our errors and are building socialism under Polish circumstances.

In the course of a sharp class struggle the PZPR is strengthening its character as a worker party. Its ties with the working people are becoming increasingly stronger. The state authorities are becoming firmer. Their efficiency is increasing and the institutions of socialist democracy are being

perfected. A struggle is being waged for healing the economy. The symptoms of its return to a balanced development without shortcuts are clearly visible.

We ascribe very great importance to the celebrations marking the 40th anniversary of the founding of socialist Poland. We would like for the thoughts and discussions on this occasion to help to develop in the social consciousness an understanding of the objective fact that our homeland is in the stage of building socialism.

At the March 1984 All-Polish PZPR Conference, Wojcieck Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary, said: "In the next few months we shall be taking to our people the truth of this people's, this socialist 40-year period, the entire truth precisely, for better than anything else it reflects the greatness and significance of this crucial stage. Despite errors, blunders and defeats, as a whole this period has been unequaled in national history and there is no need to embellish it artificially. The 40th anniversary of the People's Republic of Poland is a true picture of the upsurge of the homeland, the revelation of the talents of the toiling masses, individuals and families, and the successful development of areas, individual enterprises and places.... These celebrations must mark the anniversary of the struggle for historical truth and for a better understanding of the entire complexity and greatness of this period."

We are entering our fifth decade with the profound conviction that in our country socialism will continue to develop successfully for the common good of all Polish people. We are entering it with the conviction that Poland will continue to be a firm and inseparable link in the socialist commonwealth, CEMA and the Warsaw Pact.

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'FREE PEOPLE'S GENERAL'

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 84 (signed to press 4 Jul 84) pp 97-105  
[Article by K. Kurin]

[Text] The victory of the people's democratic and anti-imperialist revolution in Nicaragua is 5 years old. It is known as the Sandinista Revolution, named after Augusto Cesar Sandino, the national hero and legendary leader of the struggle for liberation waged by the Nicaraguan people against U.S. imperialism.

The year 1984 not only marks the great anniversary of the revolution but the 50th anniversary of Sandino's treacherous assassination. On 21 February 1934 Sandino and his closest assistants, who had come to the capital especially for talks with Nicaraguan president Sacasa were attending a reception given by him. Late at night, on the way from the presidential palace to their temporary residence, all of them were seized by national guardsmen and brutally murdered. This vicious crime had been organized by General Somoza, who had been nurtured by American imperialism, on direct instruction from Washington. The instigators generously rewarded the assassin: with their blessings Somoza became the total dictator of Nicaragua.

However, the executioners were unable to remove the bright memory of Nicaragua's fiery patriot from the heart of the freedom-loving Nicaraguan people, for the happiness of which he had fought selflessly and given his life. His name became the symbol of the struggle waged by the peoples of Latin America against North American imperialism.

By decision of the national leadership of the Nicaraguan Sandinista National Liberation Front and the leading council of the Republic of Nicaragua, the year 1984 has been dedicated to the memory of Augusto Sandino, with the slogan "Fifty Years Later, Sandino Lives!"

The Sandino family resembled hundreds of Nicaraguan peasant families of that time. Life was hard, spent in endless worrying about making ends meet, and permanent fear of want. Sandino, who farmed his father's minuscule plantation, learned the hard life of the peasantry since childhood. He witnessed the ruination of the farms and the growth of poverty. The situation in the Nicaraguan countryside became even more calamitous after Nicaragua was

invaded by American interventionists in 1912 and after the country had been occupied by U.S. troops for a total of 21 years--from 1912 to 1925 and from 1926 to 1933. The U.S. Marines, who had landed in Nicaragua, violated national customs and traditions and mocked, insulted and humiliated the population of the enslaved country. Rightlessness, want and bitterness reigned in Nicaragua.

The atmosphere in which Sandino grew up, was educated, developed and matured, was imbued with hatred of the American aggressors and their accomplices among the local oppressors. The young Sandino traveled throughout the country in search of work, frequently changing jobs, working at banana plantations, mines, at a sugar refinery and in oil fields. He also traveled to the neighboring Central American countries and to the United States. The period of his Mexican stay in 1924-1926 was important in shaping Sandino's revolutionary outlook. By then the bourgeois-democratic revolution had abated. Mexico had become a center of revolutionary struggle against American imperialism in the Latin American continent. Sandino actively participated in the country's trade union movement. He studied the revolutionary experience of his Mexican brothers and established contacts with the revolutionary movements in Mexico and Honduras.

Sandino eagerly followed the development of events in Nicaragua. He studied the political situation in the country and the deployment of class forces and the complex struggle waged by the parties and the true meaning of their political slogans. Political chaos prevailed in the country at that time: the clashes between the two traditional parties of the Nicaraguan oligarchy--the conservative and the liberal--were constant. A folk saying clearly characterized these parties: "Five representatives of the conservative oligarchy plus five representatives of the liberal oligarchy equals 10 bandits." Under the pretext of settling the interneceine struggle between liberals and conservatives, in 1926 the United States launched another direct intervention in Nicaragua. Seeing the arbitrariness and violence inflicted on his homeland, and fully resolved to struggle for its independence, Sandino returned to Nicaragua in 1926.

When Sandino left Mexico, he could not, as he himself admitted, imagine the difficulty of the mission which awaited him in his native land. He assumed that the Nicaraguan liberals and the so-called constitutionalist army intended to struggle for regaining national independence which had been violated by the American aggressors with the help of the conservatives, their local lackeys. However, quite soon life itself indicated to him his future path and helped him to determine the type of actions which had to be taken to implement the old dream of liberating the homeland from its double slavery--U.S. imperialism and the Nicaraguan traitors.

The slogan "I want to see the homeland free or die!" became the meaning of Sandino's life and struggle. At that time Sandino reached the clear conclusion that "the sovereignty of the people is non-negotiable and must be defended by the force of arms."

As a miner in San Albino, Sandino soon became the acknowledged leader of the miners. He created a combat unit made of miners and peasants who, under his

leadership; organized an armed uprising against the arbitrary behavior of the conservative government and its supporters, the U.S. interventionists, on 26 October 1926. Inspired by the success of the rebellion, poorly armed but fully resolved to continue the struggle, the rebels set up their own camp in the extreme north of Las Segovias and unanimously decided to mount armed operations against numerically superior and well-armed regular troops. The combat experience of the Sandinista grew and the number of their supporters increased rapidly. Workers, peasants and members of the student youth, all those who had seen in Sandino a patriot, who could head the struggle against the imperialist aggressors and their stooges and lead it to victory, began to gravitate toward him.

At the very first stage of the struggle, thanks to their courage and dedication the Sandino detachments acquired a tremendous reputation and enjoyed the population's support. This contributed to their success and they inflicted a series of defeats to the troops of the conservatives. Armed Sandino formations became the nucleus of the liberal army. Sandino's participation in the struggle against the conservatives, who were supported by the United States, and on the side of the liberals saved the latter's army from inevitable defeat and, subsequently, considerably strengthened its combat capability and secured for it a number of major successes. When the conservatives, as Sandino figuratively said, "were already hearing the bells tolling for them," and when their defeat had become inevitable, the interventionists urgently tried to reconcile the hostile bourgeois groups. The United States was aware that the total defeat of the conservative forces and a liberal victory would hinder the implementation of its imperialist plans. For that reason, they demanded of the liberals to lay down their arms and for their leadership to capitulate, thus betraying once against the interests of the Nicaraguan people.

Sandino was the only general in the liberal army who refused to accept the ultimatum. On 12 May 1927, in his appeal to the local authorities of all departments in Nicaragua he said that "my decision is the following: I shall not lay down arms even if everyone else does so. It is better that I die with those few who are with me. Better to die fighting than live as a slave." Subsequently, in "For Nicaragua's History," Sandino wrote that "...When I directly faced the events I realized that the Nicaraguan political leaders, conservatives as well as liberals, were a bunch of scoundrels, cowards and traitors unable to lead our patriotic and courageous people, a people worthy of a better fate, a people who set the example of nobility and spiritual purity for other peoples on our continent.... Our politicians abandoned us to the vicissitudes of fate, taking the side of the aggressors. It was then that we, workers and peasants, raised our own leaders from our own midst.

"Even in these days of heroic struggle, the bankrupt politicians are continuing to contend for the whip of the aggressor. It is funny to look at the row they are making, like dogs fighting for a bone and as they try to grab the presidency under the eyes of foreigners."

After the betrayal of the liberal leadership, Sandino broke with the liberal party in May 1927. This marked the beginning of a qualitatively new stage in the Sandinista struggle.

The struggle in Nicaragua was no longer simply a civil war. Sandino and his supporters raised the banner of the struggle against the aggressors and the traitors. Patriots enthusiastically joined the Sandinista ranks. The greed and arrogance of the American aggressors (whose leaders cynically said that "it is frequently thought here that we have come to act in the interests of some against others. They are wrong: It is our own interests only that we are defending") faced the dedication and courage of the Nicaraguan patriots.

A hard and persistent struggle and heavy fighting, this time in direct confrontation with interventionist forces, faced the Sandinistas. Sandino assumed the leadership of the people's revolutionary war on U.S. imperialism.

In recalling the days when the Nicaraguan patriots had challenged the American interventionists and the traitors, Sandino pointed out that "4 May (1927--the editor) is a national holiday. It was precisely on that day that Nicaragua proved to the entire world that its national dignity had not been destroyed and that it still had sons who will wash off this shame with which others had covered themselves with their blood."

Today 4 May is celebrated every year in the new Nicaragua as a national holiday--as National Dignity Day.

The Political Manifesto, with which Sandino turned to his compatriots on 1 July 1927, was of great importance in the further upsurge of the liberation movement. The document presented the tasks and objective of the movement, its political platform and class positions and expressed deep hatred for the interventionists and the local oligarchy and concern for the fate of the oppressed. At the same time, the manifesto clearly reflected the profound patriotism and political views characteristic of Sandino's personality. The document emphasized that "I am a Nicaraguan and I am proud of the fact that the blood of American Indians flows in my veins, a blood which carries with it that which makes a person a loyal and sincere patriot. I am a Latin American and this gives me the right to assume responsibility for the fate of Nicaragua, Central America and the entire continent which speaks my (Spanish) language.... I am proud of coming from the ranks of the oppressed, for it is precisely they who are the soul and the honor of our people.... The Nicaraguan conservatives, who are unscrupulous murderers, have wounded the very heart of the free homeland by committing very severe treason. They have cruelly persecuted us, the true sons of the fatherland.... The revolution goes on. There still are people who have not become traitors.... The revolution is continuing and today it feels more confident than ever before, for courageous and dedicated people are on its side.... The strong of the world may say that I am too insignificant to carry out my mission. However, the insignificance of my person is compensated by zealous patriotism. I swear to the homeland and to history that my sword will rescue the national honor and bring freedom to the oppressed! I have answered the challenge hurled to me by the treacherous occupation forces and traitors to the homeland with a combat call. I, and my soldiers, will become the wall against which the legions of the enemies of Nicaragua will crumble.... If you are coming to kill us on our own soil, regardless of how many there are of you, I am waiting for you with my patriotic soldiers. You must know, however, that if this were

to happen, the walls of the Capitol will crumble and that our blood will spill on your famous White House, the nest where the criminal plans are concocted."

This manifesto set the objectives of the struggle. It played a tremendous mobilizing role and strengthened the faith in victory.

Sandino and his supporters realized that a successful struggle with the enemy and victory were possible only with the creation of an army which would enjoy the trust and support of the broad popular masses. They engaged in extensive political and organizational work, as a result of which on 2 September 1927 commanders and soldiers of the rebel detachments signed the "Document on the Organization of an Army of Defenders of National Independence of Nicaragua." Sandino was unanimously elected commander in chief.

For more than 7 years Sandino's rebels fought the imperialist army armed to the teeth with the latest weapons. The government in Washington stubbornly tried to defeat and to destroy at all cost the army of the defenders of Nicaraguan national independence. It threw into the struggle against the Sandinistas its entire Marine Corps. There were more than 40,000 North Americans in Nicaragua in October 1928 and 28 destroyers were blockading the country from the east and the west. During those 7 years the United States landed more than 50,000 of its soldiers in Nicaragua.

A fierce war was fought against the rebels. In order to put an end to the patriots, using their numerical superiority, the Marines repeatedly mounted general offensives. Sandino's detachments and the settlements, whose population supported the rebels, were heavily bombed.

However, nothing helped the enemies of the people's struggle. The movement grew. The rebel army was no longer alone. The flame of guerrilla warfare against the American interventionists, triggered by the sparks made by Sandino at the San Albino mine, spread throughout the country. Nor did the unrestrained terrorism and the numerous punitive operations conducted against the civilian population crush the will of the patriots to resist. The occupation forces threw all they had at the Sandinistas, including slander which, as Sandino said, was the strongest weapon in the arsenal of the cowards. In order to achieve their expansionistic objectives and to suppress all opposition movements, American imperialism set up mercenary armed forces. A special gendarmes corps, which was given the name of "National Guard" was raised. It consisted of criminals, declassed elements, various renegades and traitors and the "golden youth." This corps was armed and trained by Americans and its command personnel consisted exclusively of officers of the U.S. armed forces. In 1932 the American military command put at the head of the corps General Somoza, quite accurately and aptly described by U.S. President Roosevelt as follows: "Somoza may be a son of a bitch but he is our son of a bitch." As planned by the White House, the armed and trained gendarmes corps was to protect the imperial interests of the United States in Nicaragua and to take over from the American Marines, i.e., it was assigned tasks which the forces of the intervention had been unable to carry out.

Having created its gendarmes corps, the Washington government evacuated its Marines from Nicaragua in 1933. Even after more than 20 years, the U.S. armed

intervention had failed to reach its objective of suppressing the liberation movement of the Nicaraguan people. The foreign aggressors left Nicaragua. This event was a tremendous victory for the Sandinista guerrillas. It was the triumph of the cause for which the Nicaraguan patriots, headed by Sandino, had fought. In the final account, the struggle of the Sandinistas proved that the people of Nicaragua can victoriously fight even a very strong enemy, Carlos Fonseca, the founder of the Sandinista National Liberation Front and leader of the new Sandinista generation, pointed out.

The Sandinistas defeated the interventionists, but U.S. economic domination and political interference continued. Sandino realized perfectly well that under such circumstances the withdrawal of the American troops did not guarantee the country's independence, and firmly called for completing the military victory with the "restoration of political and economic independence." Such fears clearly revealed his political perspicacity.

The treacherous settling of accounts with the loyal son of the Nicaraguan people was made possible only under the circumstances of total political dependence of Nicaragua on American imperialism and gross U.S. intervention in its domestic affairs. It was the high point of the long history of crimes committed by the American aggressors and the corrupt national oligarchy.

Augusto Cesar Sandino appeared in the arena of Latin American political life at a time when American imperialism had energized its expansionist policy and intensified its economic and political oppression of the peoples of the area.

During the first stage of the struggle Sandino was a patriot, an anti-imperialist who saw the corrupt nature of the politicians and called for a truly national struggle for independence.

He believed that patriotism should serve the cause of defending the dignity of the homeland. He emphasized that true patriotism is incompatible with a life of slavery under the yoke of aggressors and traitors. True patriots are only those who uncompromisingly serve their people and do not tolerate its oppression.

"Our patriotism," Sandino wrote, "does not rest on the desire for high income or important positions in the government. We believe that it is better to die than to accept a degrading, slavish freedom." He also wrote that "the true Latin American patriots must follow the example of Bolivar, Hidalgo, San Martin and the Mexican boys who died on 13 September 1847 from American bullets in Chapultepec, who sacrificed themselves in defending their homeland and their nation but did not accept the oppression and shame which Yankee imperialism brings with it. Homeland and freedom!"

It is quite noteworthy that Sandino was able to apply the concept of patriotism to the tasks of the struggle against imperialism and in defense of the national interests and sovereignty of the country creatively and in a revolutionary manner. As a passionate patriot of his homeland, nationalism, not to mention chauvinism, were alien to Sandino; his patriotism was anti-imperialist and internationalist.

Sandino's views on homeland, nationality and patriotism place him in the ranks of the most consistent revolutionaries of his time. This is clearly exemplified by the answer he gave to the American Admiral Sellers and General Selland in January 1929, when the latter touched upon the topic of patriotism. Sandino said: "It is precisely the patriotism you speak of which forces me to answer force with force and totally to reject any interference of your government in domestic affairs affecting the country's sovereignty."

In the course of the struggle against imperialism, Sandino's class positions, ideological concepts and political views increasingly matured. He wrote in the "Political Manifesto" that "more than anything else I am proud of the fact that I come from the oppressed, for it is precisely they who are the soul and the nerves of the people."

Sandino clearly realized the role of the alliance between workers and peasants in the liberation struggle. In his February 1930 address to his comrades, he wrote: "Only workers and peasants will follow to the end. It is only their organized force which will lead to victory."

Sandino also clearly saw that the bourgeoisie will not voluntarily give up its privileges and that this would require "shedding one's own blood and the blood of others." He realized that a people's war would destroy the ruling classes and that "it is only the oppressed...and precisely they who, in the final account, will make the revolution."

Sandino was convinced that the successful completion of the liberation struggle required the creation of a broad popular front. In his September 1929 letter to the Nicaraguan writer and journalist H. Aleman Bolanos, he wrote that "neither extreme right nor extreme left but a single front. Such is our slogan. Therefore, the only proper thing for us to do is to promote cooperation with all patriotic forces, regardless of the 'isms' they profess." Sandino mentioned the creation of alliances and fronts in other documents as well.

"My ideal," he emphasized, "leads upwards to the broad horizons of internationalism and to the right to be free and to demand justice." He combined these ideals with uncompromising struggle against imperialism. The most important aspect of his anti-imperialist concept was the fact that it took into consideration the specific conditions not only of Nicaragua but of all of Latin America and exposed the expansionistic and aggressive nature of U.S. foreign policy. "There are 90 million Latin Americans. We must remember our unity. We must understand that Yankee imperialism is our worst enemy, which is trying to put an end through aggression to our national honor and the freedom of our peoples," Sandino wrote to the heads of the governments of Latin American countries in August 1928. "I have realized that the leaders of American imperialist policy are fanning the flames of international discord in Central America," he wrote in another document. "...There should be no internecine war among us.... We have a common destiny and we must be united in the face of the colonizing predatory policy of American imperialism."

Sandino displayed perspicacity and far-sightedness in appealing to the peoples of Latin America for unity and for blocking the offensive of U.S. imperialism and defeating its colonization and annexation.

The conclusions he drew in 1930 remain relevant to this day: "All nations in Latin America must totally expel from their native land the Americans and their capital, for they bring about the enslavement of our countries. I have also realized the need to develop our industry and trade and comprehensively to strengthen the alliance among the fraternal peoples of Latin America.... It is only thus that we can defend our America from the predatory American pirates."

His description of the forms and methods of aggressive and expansionistic U.S. policy toward Latin America, given more than half a century ago, is equally important today, when the Reagan administration is waging undeclared war on Nicaragua, is actively pursuing its adventuristic policy in Central America and the Caribbean, has occupied Grenada and is making expansionist plans regarding other Latin American countries.

Although Sandino was not a Marxist, his ideological concepts, political views and militant anti-imperialism greatly coincided with the Marxist position. This was manifested particularly clearly at the congress of the Anti-Imperialist League, which was held in Brussels in 1927, where the most consistent revolutionaries, above all Mellia, Machado and other leaders of communist parties of Latin American countries, exposed in their speeches American imperialism and its aggressive nature and provided assessments which fully confirmed Sandino's accuracy. The congress called for waging a decisive struggle for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces from Nicaragua. The international congress of the Anti-Imperialist League, which was held in Frankfurt-am-Main in 1929, also unanimously supported the struggle waged by Sandino and the Nicaraguan patriots.

The courageous struggle waged by the Nicaraguan people against the armed intervention by the largest imperialist country was welcomed by all anti-imperialist and progressive forces on earth. It met with warm support and understanding not only in Latin America but also far beyond it. A particularly energetic campaign of solidarity with Nicaraguan patriots was mounted in Mexico, the Central American states, Argentina, Venezuela and other countries on the Latin American continent which had personally experienced the U.S. "big stick" policy. The Mexican and Peruvian communist parties energetically took up Sandino's support. Mass demonstrations of solidarity were held in a number of countries; "Hands Off Nicaragua!" committees were created, and funds and medicines were collected for the troops of Sandino's army. Voices of protest against U.S. intervention and in defense of Nicaragua were heard in the United States itself.

The most noted representatives of Latin American and global public and cultural leaders, such as the great Mexican painter David Alfaro Siqueiros and his famous colleagues Diego Rivera and Jose Orozco, the famous Chilean poetess Gabriella Mistral, the Honduran writer Frojlan Tursios and many European public and political personalities actively supported the just cause of the Nicaraguan patriots.

Romain Rolland passionately called for exposing the "political attempt on Nicaragua." Henri Barbusse, who called Sandino "the general of free people," emphasized that his activities "are of permanent historical significance."

The heroic struggle which Sandino and his comrades-in-arms waged triggered more than merely universal sympathy and broad moral support. Representatives of 20 Latin American countries joined the "Army of Defenders of Nicaraguan National Independence" fighting the interventionists. Augustin Farabundo Marti, the outstanding leader of the Latin American liberation movement and the founder and head of the Communist Party of El Salvador, was one of Sandino's closest brothers in arms. His name was given to the National Liberation Front, which is currently heading the heroic struggle waged by the Salvadoran patriots against the reactionary regime, which is still holding the power in El Salvador only with the help of its North American patrons. Also fighting in Sandino's army was the fiery Venezuelan patriot Gustav Machado, who subsequently became chairman of the Venezuelan Communist Party.

Augusto Cesar Sandino became the symbol of the struggle waged by the peoples of Latin America against U.S. imperialism. His example of dedicated service to the homeland, fierce hatred of imperialism and selfless struggle against the foreign aggressors and their accomplices, for the freedom, independence and sovereignty of Nicaragua, and his readiness for self-sacrifice and ideological legacy were adopted by the subsequent generations of Nicaraguan patriots and inspired the fighters for the bright future of their homeland.

The tragedy which befell Nicaragua with Sandino's death lasted more than 4 decades. With the help of U.S. imperialism, a military-police dictatorship was established in the country with the total domination of a single clan--the Somoza family. The dictatorial regime and its imperialistic patrons deprived the people of Nicaragua of basic rights and freedoms and doomed them to poverty and backwardness. In 1934 foreign and domestic reaction was able to suppress the revolutionary liberation movement of the first generation of Sandinista patriots. However, neither the Somoza tyranny nor its imperialist masters were able to bring to their knees the courageous and freedom-loving people of Nicaragua.

Despite most cruel terrorism the liberation movement in Nicaragua developed and strengthened under Sandinista flags. The National Liberation Front was organized in 1961, headed by Carlos Fonseca Amador. "The Sandinista National Liberation Front (SFLN) appeared as an expression of the will of the Nicaraguan people to have an organization which could overthrow the dictatorship, seize the political power and set up the type of social system which would eliminate exploitation and poverty in our country," the front's program noted. "The SFLN is a military and political organization, whose strategic objective is to seize the political power and set up a revolutionary government based on the alliance between workers and peasants and the support of all patriotic, anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic forces in the country."

With the creation of the SFLN the revolutionary struggle waged by the Nicaraguan people against the Somoza regime and U.S. political and economic domination began to grow. However, it developed under exceptionally difficult conditions and lasted almost 2 decades. The historical victory of the people

of heroic Cuba instilled hope and enthusiasm in the Nicaraguan patriots and strengthened their combat spirit. Carlos Fonseca wrote that "the ideas of V. I. Lenin and the examples of Fidel Castro, Che Guevara and Ho Chi Minh were adopted by the SFLN, which took the path of guerrilla warfare."

The Sandinistas were able accurately to assess the situation in Nicaragua and to head the nationwide antidictatorial movement and, as a result of the armed struggle, supported by the people's masses and based on progressive revolutionary principles, lead it to victory.

As a result of the long and difficult struggle, the oldest military-police dictatorship of the Somoza family clan collapsed on 19 July 1979. A new stage in the political history of the Nicaraguan people began. Revolutionary, democratic and patriotic forces, representing the interests of the broad popular masses, the town and country working people above all, came to power in the country.

From the very first days of its existence, the revolutionary government of national renaissance proclaimed and has been following a line of democratization of the country and political and socioeconomic change consistent with the expectations of the victorious people. After the victory was won incredible difficulties had to be surmounted, inherited from the overthrown tyranny. The dictatorial regime and its patrons had ruined the country, brought the popular masses to a degree of extreme poverty and led the nation to the brink of catastrophe. After it gained its freedom, the working people undertook with inspiration and incredible revolutionary enthusiasm and upsurge to rebuild the economy, eliminate backwardness, build a new life and revive its homeland. Led by the SFLN, the Nicaraguan people achieved major successes in making socioeconomic changes in the country. The political activeness of the toiling masses and their role in resolving the constructive problems of the revolution increased. New Nicaragua gained international prestige worthy of the accomplishments of its revolutionary people.

U.S. imperialism is doing everything possible to stop the continuing anti-imperialist national democratic revolutions in Latin America. Therefore, its aspiration to eliminate the gains of the Nicaraguan revolution became one of the prime objectives of the present U.S. administration.

Faced with threats and heavy pressure by American imperialism, the freedom-loving people of Nicaragua are rallying around their vanguard--the SFLN--which has adopted the anti-imperialist revolutionary democratic ideals of Sandino, who was proclaimed the "father of the Nicaraguan anti-imperialist revolution." Today, 50 years after his death, the Nicaraguans are defending their revolutionary gains, their honor and their legitimate right to independent development and freedom with the same courage and dedication displayed by the

preceding generations. All progressive forces on earth are on the side of the just cause of new Nicaragua. The people of revolutionary Nicaragua will not be defeated. They will win.

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## NUCLEAR RESPONSIBILITY CODE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 84 (signed to press 4 Jul 84) pp 106-115

[Article by V. Korionov]

[Text] There is truly no important problem relative to safeguarding and strengthening peace on the subject of which the Soviet Union has not submitted specific realistic initiatives in recent years, aimed at stopping the arms race and reaching agreements based on the principles of equality and identical security. The task of limiting and reducing nuclear armaments and preventing nuclear war justifiably holds a leading position among the broad range of problems which are always kept in sight by Soviet foreign policy. "Naturally, restraining the nuclear arms race is of key importance to peace and the security of the nations," said Comrade K. U. Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, in his 2 March electoral speech. "The position of the USSR on this matter is clear. We are against competition in increasing nuclear arsenals. We were and remain supporters of the banning and elimination of all types of such weapons. Our proposals on this account have long been submitted to the United Nations and the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva. However, their discussion is blocked by the United States and its allies."

The difficult and dangerous international situation which is developing currently imperatively demands of all countries truly interested in the elimination of the grave tension to return to the path of detente and to double and triple their efforts in pursuit of a policy of peace and international cooperation. Under the existing circumstances, the policy of the nuclear powers assumes particular significance. Hence the greatest possible importance of the expanded program formulated by the USSR for introducing specific standards governing relations among such powers, consistent with their responsibility to present and future generations. Such a program was contained in Comrade K. U. Chernenko's speech to the electorate in Moscow's Kuybyshev Electoral District. Today it is a focal point of attention of the broadest possible circles in the world and is drawing the close attention of many leading political and governmental personalities in different countries.

There is nothing amazing in the fact that it was precisely the Soviet Union that once again came up with the initiative aimed at exerting a determining influence on the climate of present international relations and for asserting within them the component of trust, which is of such great importance today. Peace has been the main foreign policy aspiration in the activities of the Soviet state from its very beginning. To paraphrase the familiar Marxist stipulations, we can boldly say that whereas in bourgeois diplomacy the past dominates the present, in socialist diplomacy it is the present which dominates the past. Whereas the aggressive imperialist circles, who continue to live with the concept of the past and consider in the nuclear century the possibility of war as a legitimate means of extending their expansionistic policy, socialist foreign policy firmly rejects such an approach, uncompromisingly asserting that war, even more so in the nuclear century, cannot and must not be considered an acceptable means of resolving disputes in relations among countries.

The insane readiness of the imperialist politicians to waste the blood and results of the toil of nations in predatory wars of conquest clearly exposes the anti-people's nature of a system doomed by history. The two world wars, the numerous "small" wars and the military conflicts waged by aggressive imperialist circles in recent decades, which cost the lives of tens of millions of people, fully confirm the justice of Lenin's conclusion that the imperialist bourgeoisie has become a class "which has let itself go, decadent, dead on the inside and reactionary" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 26, p 145-146).

"World domination," V. I. Lenin wrote, "is, briefly speaking, the content of the imperialist policy, the extension of which is imperialist war" (op. cit., vol 30, p 85). With the victory of the Great October Revolution and the advent of the age of socialist revolutions, the breakdown of the colonial system and the overall upsurge of the liberation struggle of the peoples, dreams of world domination by one imperialist country or another have definitively turned into chimeras. However, to this day they are making the overseas moneybags restless. Today the newly hatched monopoly "crusaders" in Washington have begun to rely more than ever before on their ability to dictate their will to the rest of mankind by threatening the use of nuclear weapons. In this connection, the American publicist H. Meyer, noted most reasonably that "Washington's top military experts realize that it is impossible to conquer the Soviet Union and that bullets alone cannot prevent four-fifths of mankind, Europe and Asia from changing their social systems. Therefore, their objective is to stop the development of life itself by causing tremendous devastations with nuclear bombs...."

The assertion in the United States of the dominant role of nuclear imperialism--the most militarized and most adventuristic modification of imperialism in history--has been the result of such a frame of mind and fanatical approach to world affairs. This modification marked its appearance on the stage of world politics with the barbaric destruction of the civilian population of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. However, already then it became obvious that, in the final account, the policy of nuclear blackmail and diktat cannot

have any real chance of success. The loss of the American monopoly on nuclear weapons caused by the Soviet Union soon put an end to Washington's nuclear ambitions. However, as subsequent events were to prove, this did not mean that the "madmen" had abandoned their plans for unleashing nuclear war.

Now, when Washington faces in the world arena an antiwar and antimissile movement of unrivaled scope, and when the frank confirmation of preparations by the American military of "limited" (to Europe, naturally) nuclear war has caused great concern to significant bourgeois social strata in Western Europe, and when the leadership of the Republican Party in the United States must face the voters on the threshold of the 1984 presidential elections, President Reagan and his retinue are trying to pretend that they were misunderstood. Assertions are coming out of the Oval Office in the White House to the effect that Washington is not even thinking of preparations for unleashing a nuclear war.

Such subterfuge, however, could mislead only the most naive of people. The overseas circles, who were the first to acquire nuclear weapons and try them on hundreds of thousands of Japanese, do not intend to abandon the possibility of using them in the future as well. Those who are relying on nuclear blackmail and, in the final account, on nuclear war, do not intend to be stopped by any obstruction in the implementation of their plans.

The course charted by the American militarists of preparations for nuclear war essentially embodies the views of the theoreticians of genocide--the destruction of entire nations, proclaimed decades ago by fascist fanatics and qualified as the most severe crime against mankind by the Nuremberg court which tried the main military criminals of the "Third Reich." Hitler's practice of genocide proved how far frenzied imperialist reaction and antipeople's and antihuman excesses could go. Now, however it has become clear that this was not the limit. Today's overseas anticomunists are ready to go even farther. Unable soberly to assess the objective course of global history, they see socialism as the main "culprit" for the profound social processes which are transforming the contemporary world. They look at nuclear missiles as the principal means of "putting an end to socialism" and with it, of anything which stands in the way of imperialism's unlimited world domination.

The "crusade" proclaimed by the present occupant of the White House not only concentrates within it all past anticomunism. Its particular danger is that it rests on a new material foundation: the arsenal of nuclear missiles, with the help of which its organizers intend to "uproot communism" and restore imperialism's global rule. This intention, naturally, is impossible to achieve. This, however, does not make it any less dangerous.

"The truth is that capitalism is sick and dying," said Gus Hall, secretary general of the U.S. Communist Party. "...It is exhausted and played out. However, it stubbornly refuses to yield. It is victim of old age and the aging process. Capitalism is inhuman by its very nature. Reagan's capitalism is inhuman by its deliberately sadistic cruelty, unequalled in the history of the American government. Reagan and his big business agents, who are members of his cabinet, are totally indifferent to honesty, morality, civic

consciousness, human rights or the well-being of the people. They have thrown all caution to the wind, insanely possessed as they are with attaining nuclear superiority and in their campaign of promoting anticommunist hysteria."

Indeed, in recent years the inhuman plans for preparations for a nuclear war have begun to be discussed publicly and are even being publicized. Today the count of possible casualties of such a war, as estimated in Washington, has been raised to hundreds of millions of people. In 1980 the notorious Z. Brzezinski said in an interview with the British journalist B. Power that, in the final account, a nuclear war should not be considered a terrible catastrophe, for it would cost the lives of "only" 10 percent of mankind. Yet this 10 percent "only" is more than 400 million people. After which Brzezinski firmly said that "if necessary," he would not hesitate: he would press the button and launch the missiles.

One may point out that Brzezinski belongs to the past. However, similar views are held by today's U.S. Vice President Bush, who believes, according to American observers, that it is possible to win a nuclear war by ensuring the survival of command and control centers and preserving the industrial potential. The number of casualties in such a war does not bother this high American official, even if it were to exceed manyfold the number of survivors.

In their book on the Pentagon's secret nuclear war plans, which came out in the United States in 1983, two American researchers, P. Pringle and W. Arkin, note that "under Reagan caution has been abandoned and no one pretends that the United States has no plans to wipe the Soviet Union off the face of the earth.... There is no longer talk of sparing the enemy's cities and proclaiming "military sites" alone as targets. Such nuclear punctiliousness is alien to the Reagan administration." The Pentagon's "1984-1988 Defense Directives" set the U.S. nuclear forces the task of being able "to eliminate the entire Soviet military and political system."

Therefore, preparations for such a war have exceeded the framework of interviews and speeches. At the same time, high-ranking U.S. politicians, generals, senators and officials from Ch. Week's propaganda department are trying to instill in the minds of the Americans "thoughts about the unthinkable," by praising the doctrines of "limited nuclear war" and "protected nuclear conflict."

The militant atomic warmongers are trying to find means of unleashing war in which U.S. territory--the citadel of imperialism--would remain untouched. That is why, along with plans for converting Europe into such a war theater, plans exist for taking a nuclear war to outer space. Not content with exposing mankind to unpredictable dangers with nuclear weapons, the Reagan administration is suggesting that the arms race be raised to a new level by shifting it to outer space. American observers have noted in this connection that the lack of understanding of the fact that in the nuclear century incalculable changes have taken place in the interrelationship between man and the universe is nothing but "the greatest irresponsibility in history."

However, it is precisely this kind of irresponsibility which characterizes the policy of the American administration which is engaged in a risky and most dangerous game with nuclear weapons.

Its latest manifestation is Washington's plans of developing a large-scale system of antimissile defense (AMD). The sole purpose of the development of such a system, which would protect both military and civilian targets on U.S. territory would be to establish a shield behind which dealing a nuclear strike at the other side without fear of retaliation could be considered. However hard the authors of this plan may try to present it as defensive, this is obviously a course of acquiring a first-strike potential and achieving military superiority. It is a clear effort to wreck the 1972 Soviet-American treaty on limiting AMD systems.

We thus see yet another clear example of the zeal with which the present administration in Washington is wrecking the system of international treaties and agreements which were made with such difficulty through the joint efforts of the USSR, the United States and other countries during the 1970s, a system the purpose of which was to stabilize the international situation and stop the sliding of mankind toward a fatal brink. Again and again this confirms the accuracy of the conclusion drawn at the 26th CPSU Congress: "Adventurism and readiness to risk the vital interests of mankind for the sake of narrow selfish objectives is what the policy of the most aggressive imperialist circles reveals with particular clarity."

## II

The dangerous situation which is developing in the international arena as a result of imperialist policy demands of all peace-loving forces on the planet most active and energetic action to restrain the overseas adventurists.

The nuclear century formulates new and unprecedented stricter requirements concerning the policies of states and governments, the positions of political parties and social movements and all nations and, even more so, all individuals. As Albert Einstein, the author of the theory of relativity, said in his time, "If mankind is to survive we must develop an entirely new way of thinking."

The main indicator of the responsible approach of countries and governments to international affairs today is their attitude toward the task of preventing nuclear war. It is precisely in this matter of decisive importance to the nations that the superiority and humanism of socialism are manifested with particular clarity. No nuclear war should be allowed to occur, small, big, limited or total. There cannot even be a question of "small," "clean" or "precise" nuclear wars. Such is the inflexible position held by the CPSU and the Soviet state, a position which allows no misinterpretations and which organically presumes unity of objectives and practical actions.

In an interview granted to the British correspondent Farbman in October 1922, Lenin said that pacifistic phraseology, talks and assurances and even the swearing of oaths against war are being heard throughout the world in large numbers. "Meanwhile, readiness to take real steps, even the simplest ones, to

ensure peace are to be found in most countries, modern civilized states in particular, in very rare cases. Yet we would like to see in this and similar matters fewer general statements, solemn promises and rich formulas and have as many simple and clear decisions and measures taken, which would truly lead to peace, not to mention the total elimination of the threat of war" (op. cit., vol 45, p 240-241).

Socialist foreign policy has made total consistency between word and actions its fixed principle. This is confirmed by all Soviet diplomatic activities, above all on a question of most vital importance to mankind. Ever since nuclear weapons appeared, the Soviet Union has firmly supported their ban and destruction. As early as 19 June 1946, at one of the first meetings of the UN Atomic Energy Commission, the USSR submitted a draft international convention on banning the production and use of mass destruction weapons based on nuclear energy. The USSR suggested that all signatories to such a convention assume the solemn pledge not to use nuclear weapons under any circumstance, to ban their production and stockpiling and to destroy the entire stockpile of weapons, both ready or under production, within a 3-month period. It suggested that the violation of such obligations be considered the greatest international crime against mankind.

At that time the problem could still have been resolved with relative ease. However, the U.S. imperialist circles blocked its resolution. "To control mankind and force the world to obey" was the aspiration of the provisional monopoly holders of the atom bomb. Washington countered the Soviet nuclear disarmament plan with the so-called "Baruch plan," the essence of which was to secure for the United States the monopoly of the atom bomb.

In an effort to find a realistic solution to the problem, in June 1947 the USSR agreed on the establishment of strict international control over all enterprises engaged in the production of nuclear raw materials and atomic energy. The agency in charge of this control was to operate under the UN Security Council. However, this proposal as well was blocked by the United States, which strove for unlimited nuclear hegemony.

During the entire subsequent period the USSR invariably made persistent efforts in proposing a comprehensive disarmament plan which would organically include a solution to the problem of banning nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union submitted more than 100 different proposals aimed at restricting the arms race and at disarmament. The Treaty on Banning Nuclear Weapons Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Underwater; the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons; the Agreement Between the USSR and the United States on the Prevention of Nuclear War; the Treaty Between the USSR and the United States on Limiting Antiballistic Missile Systems; the Provisional USSR-United States Agreement on Certain Measures in the Area of Restricting Strategic Offensive Armaments; the Convention on Banning the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxic Weapons and Their Destruction; the Convention on Banning Military or Any Other Hostile Use of Means of Influencing the Environment and many other international agreements were drafted and initialed with the most active participation of the Soviet Union.

At the 36th UN General Assembly session in 1981, the USSR submitted a declaration on "Preventing Nuclear Catastrophe," which was approved by the assembly. The main line in resolving the problem of vital importance to mankind, earmarked by this declaration, was to ensure that all nuclear powers refuse to be the first to use nuclear weapons and abandon any doctrine which would allow for such a possibility and to engage in honest and equal talks with a view to stopping and turning back the nuclear armament race, bearing in mind their total elimination as the final objective.

On 15 June 1982 the following historical declaration was made public to the representatives of 157 countries at the meeting of the Second Special Disarmament Session of the UN General Assembly: "Guided by the aspiration to do everything it can to relieve the nations from the threat of nuclear devastation and, in the final account, to eliminate from the life of mankind the very possibility of such a threat, the Soviet government solemnly declares that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics assumes the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons.... The military-political stereotypes inherited from the time of the former atom bomb monopoly have become obsolete. Today's reality demands an essentially new approach to problems of war and peace. The action now undertaken by the Soviet Union will facilitate the possibility of taking a different look at the entire set of problems related to limiting and reducing armaments, nuclear in particular, and to facilitate disarmament as a whole."

This outstanding peace initiative on the part of the USSR dealt a strong blow at the anti-Soviets in the imperialist camp. The fabrications of the imperialist provocateurs regarding the "Soviet military threat" became even more senseless. The antiwar and antimissile movement of the nations gained a new powerful impetus in its global efforts.

To the profound chagrin of the peoples, these Soviet efforts as well to lift from mankind the threatening danger did not meet with support by the United States and the other NATO countries. In the international circumstances which had worsened by the fault of the American ruling circles, in 1983 the Soviet Union took another constructive step: on its initiative the 38th UN General Assembly passed a declaration condemning nuclear war, calling upon the international community to condemn nuclear war decisively, unconditionally and forever as the most monstrous crimes which could be committed against the peoples and as a gross violation of man's prime right--the right to life. The United States voted against it.

The appeal of the Soviet government to the governments of the United States, Great Britain, France and the PRC, with the suggestion that all nuclear powers freeze all of their nuclear armaments, both quantitatively and qualitatively, was yet another step aimed at preventing nuclear war. This action could also be carried out with relative ease, the more so since today a favorable base to this effect exists--the military-strategic parity between the USSR and the United States.

However, it is precisely this parity which does not suit those whose objective is to dictate their will on all countries and peoples. Washington rejected this Soviet initiative as well. All of its efforts are concentrated on a

single area: to continue the deployment of the new American first-strike nuclear missiles in Western Europe at all cost and to develop the strategic nuclear potential of the United States.

### III

Over the centuries mankind formulated numerous rules of behavior in relations among countries, collectively known as norms of international law. One can easily imagine the chaos which would prevail in the world in the absence of such rules which, as practical experience as indicated, offer a tangible restraining principle for governments representing a social system ruled by money and the morality of a wolf pack. This makes even more necessary not only the existence of such rules but their firm implementation under the conditions of the coexistence of opposite social systems and the contemporary scientific and technical revolution which has been extended to the entire military area.

The peaceful coexistence code, which is what the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe was essentially, reflected the vital need of our time for firm observance of the moral-legal norms of international behavior, without which trust in relations among countries with different sociopolitical systems would be inconceivable and without which surmounting the present difficult historical period would be dangerously hindered. Understandably, however, in this area the countries possessing the most terrible and destructive arms--nuclear weapons--bear particular responsibility. The situation which has developed in the world urgently requires of these countries to reach agreement on rules which would govern relations among them and would guarantee the prevention of a nuclear clash which would result in universal destruction. This was the line of the suggestions on behavioral norms for nuclear powers, set in K. U. Chernenko's 2 March speech.

What kind of norms are these? In the Soviet view, they are the following:

First, each nuclear power should consider the prevention of nuclear war the main objective of its foreign policy. It must prevent situations fraught with nuclear conflict or, should such a threat nevertheless arise, hold urgent consultations to prevent the outbreak of a nuclear conflagration. This means that it must give priority to the problem of excluding nuclear war from the life of society. The nuclear arms race cannot resolve a single one of the problems facing mankind. On the contrary, it embroils such problems in a tight knot which cannot be unraveled. In waving the nuclear bomb, the aggressive adventuristic imperialist circles have already repeatedly created critical international situations. However, no guarantee whatsoever exists that "balancing on the brink of war," which the Washington adventurists have turned into their political norm, would not eventually end in global tragedy.

Second, the propaganda of nuclear war must be abandoned in all its variants, global or limited. As we know, the warmongers have set in motion a huge propaganda apparatus, the main function of which is to promote the "admissibility" and even "expediency" of starting a nuclear conflagration. One can easily see how much clearer the global political atmosphere would

become and what new horizons for global contacts would open if the governments were to ban war propaganda in general, nuclear war propaganda above all, as the Soviet Union has done.

Third, it is very important for each nuclear power to assume the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. Such an obligation would be a clear and convincing manifestation of the aspiration to save mankind from an irreparable catastrophe not in words but in deeds. If there is anything which could rescue today the peoples from the burden of fear, disperse reciprocal mistrust and contribute in the best possible manner to the establishment of an atmosphere of reciprocal understanding and cooperation, it would be precisely the adoption and firm observance of such an obligation. For it is obvious that if there is no first nuclear strike there will no second strike. This would make a real political change in strengthening trust among all countries.

Fourth, nuclear weapons should not be used against non-nuclear countries on whose territory no such weapons have been deployed, under any circumstances. Respect for the status of the already established (in Latin America) and encouraging the establishment of other nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world would be an important step on the way to a general normalizing of the international situation. The Soviet Union has frequently stated that for its part it will never threaten countries whose territory is free from nuclear weapons. The socialist countries have repeatedly called for concluding international agreements on the creation of nuclear-free zones. As early as 1957 the Polish government submitted a plan for the creation of such a zone in Central Europe. The Soviet government, which supported that initiative, appealed at that time to all nuclear powers to assume the obligation to consider the territories of countries within that zone as excluded from the area of use of nuclear weapons. It was not by the fault of the socialist countries that this initiative was not carried out.

At the first special UN General Assembly disarmament session in 1978 the Soviet Union assumed the obligation not to use nuclear weapons against countries which refuse the production and acquisition of such weapons and do not have them on their territory. The USSR subsequently repeatedly expressed its readiness to sign corresponding agreements with any non-nuclear power. As everyone knows, our country has also repeatedly stressed its support of the creation of nuclear-free zones in northern Europe, on the Balkans, and in other parts of the earth and its constructive position concerning the suggestion of the Swedish government of creating in Europe a zone free from theater nuclear weapons. The suggestion of removing from the continent on a reciprocal basis such medium-range and tactical weapons clearly confirms the good will of the USSR and its desire to cleanse Europe of nuclear weapons, as stated by the Soviet side at the Geneva talks with the United States and still standing.

Fifth, the nuclear powers should undertake the obligation not to allow the proliferation of nuclear weapons in any form; not to give such weapons or control over them to anyone; not to deploy them in countries where no such weapons exist; not to extend the nuclear arms race to new areas, including outer space. The Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist commonwealth, as we know, have made a great contribution to the establishment

of the present international system of nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. It is based on the March 1970 Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons. The effectiveness of this barrier is confirmed by the fact alone that over the past 20 years the nuclear power "club" has not accepted a single new member. However, the threat of the spreading of nuclear weapons around the globe is quite real. This is helped, in particular, by the so-called relations of "strategic cooperation" between the United States and countries such as Israel, the Republic of South Africa and Pakistan. Nuclear weapons have been deployed in American military bases which dot the map of the nonsocialist part of the world like smallpox. American navy ships carrying nuclear weapons may be found in the ports of various allied countries, unceremoniously violating their sovereign rights and laws.

Sixth, in the view of the Soviet Union, step by step and based on the principle of identical security, efforts must be made to reduce nuclear armaments to the point of their total elimination whatever they may be.

This is the first time in its age-old history that Europe has lived in peace for such a long time. Unquestionably, this is due to a decisive extent to the preservation of the military strategic parity between the USSR and the United States and between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. This does not mean in the least that the USSR favors the preservation of the current level of military confrontation. On the contrary, our country persistently calls for lowering this level to its lowest possible threshold. This is the purpose of the numerous suggestions made by the USSR on ending the arms race and undertaking disarmament. However, it is precisely because the preservation of military parity is the most important prerequisite for restraining the imperialist aggressors from unleashing a war that the USSR firmly states that no one will be allowed to disturb this parity. At the same time, the Soviet Union will continue to do everything it can to encourage a reduction in the level of armaments, nuclear weapons above all.

Such are the principles of relations among countries on which Soviet policy rests. Our country is trying to reach an agreement with the other nuclear powers on the joint acceptance of such norms and on giving them an international legal status. This would be of invaluable significance in improving the entire system of international relations. Incidentally, making such norms mandatory could be important also in preventing the militarization of outer space, i.e., resolving a problem the urgency of which is mentioned in the 30 June declaration of the Soviet government.

The new outstanding peace initiative formulated on 2 March by the CPSU and the Soviet state created tremendous universal interest and met with the universal support of those who wish to preserve peace. "Such a codification of relations among the largest countries in the nuclear century," wrote the newspaper BERLINER ZEITUNG, "is an exceptionally important step in pulling out of the dangerous dead-end street in which Soviet-American relations find themselves by the fault of the White House." The Hungarian NEPSZABADSAG pointed out that "millions of people on earth are waiting for the positive answer of the West to this constructive proposal."

Realistic circles in the United States as well considered the initiative of the CPSU and the Soviet government a constructive step in pulling out of the dead-end street in which the international situation finds itself as a result of Washington's policy. "K. U. Chernenko," wrote THE PHILADELPHIA ENQUIRER, "asked the U.S. administration to take specific steps which could mark the beginning of a real turn in Soviet-American relations." However, it is precisely such a turn which Washington does not want. The White House had its own reaction to the fruitful Soviet idea. All possible mainsprings are being activated to make the pendulum of the arms race swing even more widely. Everything possible is being done to prevent any opening of the path to equal talks. The tremendous psychological warfare machinery is continuing to operate at full power in an effort to hinder the implementation of practical steps to end the nuclear arms race. All of this imperatively demands of the people to take most active and decisive steps to restrain the imperialist adventurers.

The communist party and the Soviet state are waging a tireless struggle to save mankind from the threat of nuclear war. We must, Comrade K. U. Chernenko emphasized in his talk with G.-J. Vogel, president of the Social Democratic Party Faction in the Bundestag, do everything depending on us to prevent a nuclear catastrophe. This means to achieve a real turn for the better in the dangerous development of events in the world. This also means to follow the path of equal cooperation among countries, based on peaceful coexistence. In this spirit we are ready to act jointly with all political and social forces and all governments who are pursuing the same objectives.

Such is the principled position of the land of the soviets. It is consistent with the vital interests of all mankind. It is a position from which the Leninist party and the Soviet people will never deviate.

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## U.S. INTRIGUES ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA

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[Article by V. Tikhomirov]

[Text] The world is watching with deep concern and alarm the militaristic intrigues of U.S. imperialist circles in the Korean Peninsula, to which they ascribe an important place in their aggressive plans for the Far East. Having established military-political control over the southern part of the Peninsula and created a support base and a bridgehead for attack and expansion in that area, Washington is concocting dangerous plans for converting this entire area into its patrimony. It is undertaking criminal actions which threaten the peace, security and freedom of the peoples.

In itself, such a policy is not new. It is the logical continuation of the same type of aggressive course which the United States has been pursuing in that area ever since World War II. As a result of the defeat of the shock forces of Japanese militarism by the Soviet army and the liberation of Korea, the country acquired the possibility of peaceful democratic development. However, Washington's rulers wrecked the decisions made by the allies in the anti-Hitlerite coalition, which called for the creation of a single democratic state. Ignoring the will of the Korean people, the American occupation forces put in power in the southern part of the country a reactionary puppet government which founded the "Korean Republic" in August 1948, thus splitting a single nation. Between 1950 and 1953, in the course of their armed aggression the overseas imperialists tried to liquidate the Korean People's Democratic Republic, which was founded in September 1948, with armed force. However, with the support of the socialist states the people of North Korea defended their democratic gains and inflicted a crushing defeat on the forces of imperialism and South Korean reaction.

However, none of this cooled off the hotheads in Washington and Seoul. After concluding a "mutual defense" treaty with South Korea, on 1 October 1953, the United States advanced even further on the way to strengthen the South Korean regime militarily and began to pursue even more energetically a line of further consolidating the division of the country, encouraging in all possible ways the Seoul authorities to aggravate the tension on the peninsula. Several consecutive American administrations made their "contribution" to accelerating

the militarization process in South Korea in the 1960s-1970s. However, regardless of the type of "doctrines" or "concepts" applied concerning the Korean Peninsula, they invariably meant not only the preservation but the further increase of American military presence in South Korea and the steady growth of the latter's militaristic potential with a view to increasing its participation in the aggressive plans of the United States and to undermine any effort at achieving national unity on a peaceful, just and democratic basis, which would be the most efficient means of ensuring durable peace and security on Korean soil.

The obstructionist policy of the overseas imperialists prevented the resolution of the Korean problem at the April 1954 international conference which was held in Geneva with the participation of the great powers. To this day all that exists on the peninsula is the armistice which the belligerent parties initialed in the summer of 1953. The transformation of this agreement into a peace treaty has been invariably obstructed by the authorities in Washington and Seoul.

The aggressive line of such a policy is unquestionable. South Korea holds one of the key positions in the Asian strategy of the United States and is considered an "advanced bastion" and a militaristic bridgehead aimed against neighboring countries. Speaking in Seoul in the autumn of 1983, President Reagan loudly proclaimed South Korea a "vitally important zone" of "cardinal importance" to Washington's interests in that part of Asia.

The American armed forces deployed in South Korea are the main weapon for securing U.S. "interests" in South Korea and maintaining its "leading role" in Asia. As acknowledged by former Assistant Secretary of State for Southeast Asia and the Pacific J. Holdridge, the Pentagon can send such forces to any part of the Asian continent. Currently more than 40,000 representatives of the overseas military are concentrated in the Korean south, armed to the teeth. Some 40 military bases and projects, seaports and airfields in the country are at their disposal. Energetic steps are being taken to upgrade the quality of the interventionist forces and to equip them with nuclear weapons. Their armaments include some 1,000 nuclear warheads. The Western press is publishing with increasing frequency information on the plans for the deployment of cruise missiles and neutron bombs in South Korea.

The U.S. imperialist circles are intensively arming South Korea and providing it with increasing military aid. Between 1980 and 1984 alone such aid exceeded \$800 million. The funds are used to purchase modern American weapons, including 38 F-16 fighter-bombers which can carry nuclear weapons, and modernize the South Korean army.

In turn, the regime in Seoul is intensively developing its own military industry. The implementation of the "program for perfecting the armed forces," carried out with U.S. financial support, resulted in the rapid development of the South Korean war industry, which can now produce more than half of the weapons needed to equip a 600,000-man army and 3 million reservists. South Korean military expenditures, which account for more than one-third of the country's budget, are increasing steadily.

In an effort to accelerate the increase of the South Korean military potential, starting with the mid-1960s Washington undertook active steps to involve Japan in its dangerous adventures by assigning to it responsibility for the "safety" of South Korea and the entire Korean Peninsula. The treaty on basic relations between Tokyo and Seoul, which was initialed in 1965, laid the foundations for the development of close ties between them, which are assuming an increasingly emphatic militaristic coloring not without overseas prompting. This is manifested in strengthening bilateral military-political cooperation, the creation of a Japanese-South Korean parliamentary council on security problems in 1979, and the extensive financial aid given to Seoul.

The military power aspect in American policy was drastically emphasized with the accession to power of the Reagan administration. Having charted a course of accelerated military preparations in the southern part of the peninsula, Washington intensified the already close coordination of military strategic plans, joint patrolling of the Korean Straits and the formulation of joint plans for combat operations. It undertook the regular holding of joint exercises and maneuvers such as "Team Spirit," "Rimpac" and others. During the latest talks between Reagan and South Korean leader Chun Doo Hwan the American side particularly emphasized maintaining and strengthening its military presence in South Korea and providing the latter ever-increasing aid in armament.

At the same time, steps were taken to organize a tripartite military and political alliance among Washington, Tokyo and Seoul, aimed not only against socialist Korea but against all areas in the Indian and Pacific Ocean region. During President Reagan's visit to Japan and South Korea, he persistently promoted the idea of establishing a "Pacific alliance," or, in simple terms, an aggressive military bloc controlled by the United States. According to the Japanese newspaper ASAHI SHIMBUN, on the basis of "cementing American military ties with Japan and South Korea and making them broader and more effective, the United States intends to make the Far East one of the most important lines of Washington's global imperial strategy.

The U.S. imperialistic intrigues on the Korean Peninsula and the worsening of the tension and the threat of war in that area are paralleled by constant attacks on the peaceable foreign policy of the Korean People's Democratic Republic. Washington invariably rejects Pyongyang's constructive proposals and firmly opposes the peaceful democratic unification of the country by the Korean people themselves. It hinders any effort at resuming the dialogue between the Korean People's Democratic Republic and South Korea. This fact was confirmed once again by Washington's negative reaction to the peace-loving initiative formulated 10 January last by the Central People's Committee and the Permanent Council of the Korean People's Democratic Republic's Supreme National Assembly.

The peaceable policy of the Korean People's Democratic Republic meets with the full understanding of the CPSU and the Soviet state. During the Soviet-Korean summit talks, which were held in the Kremlin on 24 May, Comrade K. U. Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, declared that the Soviet Union fully supported the struggle waged by the Korean Labor Party, government and people for the

peaceful democratic reunification of Korea with no outside interference whatsoever.

The Soviet Union has invariably supported the important initiatives of the Korean People's Democratic Republic, which call for initiating a peace treaty to replace the current armistice agreement, the adoption of nonaggression declarations between North and South, reciprocal reduction of armed forces and converting the Korean Peninsula into a nuclear-free zone. The implementation of such constructive ideas would offer possibilities of improving the situation on the peninsula and creating favorable conditions for a productive dialogue between North and South Korea for the sake of resolving the basic national problem--the reunification of the country on a peaceful and democratic basis.

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## TRANSPORTATION FOR SIBERIA

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 84 (signed to press 4 Jul 84) pp 118-119

[Article by Hero of Socialist Labor S. Yeger, laureate of Lenin and State prizes, honored worker in sciences and technology of the RSFSR and doctor of technical sciences]

[Text] The resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress call for the systematic and accelerated development of the natural resources in the eastern and northern parts of the country. The development of such territories involves tremendous material outlays and, necessarily, substantial manpower. The problem of transportation becomes particularly important in the development of the Siberia North and the Far East.

In the course of our studies to resolve the transportation problem of Siberia and the Far East, we at the Moscow Aviation Institute imeni Sergo Ordzhonikidze, naturally considered in the first place the possible use of aircraft. Modern aerospace science and technology allows us to create aircraft with a 150-200-ton payload. However, its use requires large airfields and since, depending on the length of the flight such airplanes may weigh between 500 and 800 tons, the airfields as well should have complex engineering installations. If airfields are built in the vicinity of groups of consumers (mines, plants or petroleum and gas extraction fields), hundreds of such airfields would be required and at that point construction outlays would come close to the cost of building ground transport facilities.

Air transport vehicles not requiring airfields exist: helicopters and airships. The creation of helicopters with the necessary payload and for long-distance flights does not seem possible in the immediate future. Furthermore, the economic efficiency of helicopters remains low and every hour of flight costs a fair amount of money.

In our view, airships could become the most efficient transport facility for Siberia, the North, and the Far East in the immediate future. Airship building achieved major successes in our country and abroad during the 1920s and 1930s. Giant airships were built, which would haul from 50 to 80 tons of useful load, with a flying range of 12,000 kilometers. However, many such airships broke down for one reason or another, thus becoming discredited. The

main reason was that the gas used for their lifting power was in almost all cases hydrogen. Hydrogen is combustible and, mixed with air, explosive. A considerable percentage of airships were destroyed by fire on the ground or in the air.

Furthermore, the wide surface of airships in a zone subject to icing led to a fast accumulation of tons of ice, thus making the ship lose its lifting power and in frequent cases resulting in its destruction.

In recent years science and technology in all areas relative to airship building have advanced considerably. Most of the problems which ensure the airships' operational reliability can be successfully resolved today. Dozens of airships have been designed abroad and are used essentially in patrolling coastal territories.

What would the airship of the immediate future, able to resolve the transportation problem in the development of the northern and eastern parts of our country look like? The economical and transport efficiency of the airship depends on the volume of working gas and the size, for which reason it increases with its dimensions. The study of freight hauling in the national economy has indicated that it would be expedient to build airships with a 300-500-ton load capacity. The airships could use helium or hot air as a lifting gas. Helium is not flammable and has a great lifting capacity (low density). However, it is expensive and, furthermore, in lowering the airship some of it has to be released (or pumped off and compressed, or else burned, which is expensive and increases the weight of the airship). Hot air, heated to a temperature of 150-200 degrees Centigrade, makes the working gas considerably less expensive and its use simpler. By heating up the external lining of the airship, it also resolves the problem of its icing. A conventional small-diameter jet (we have designed a jet the diameter of which does not exceed 1.5 meters), easy to install in any airship, could be used as the heating fixture.

The studies conducted at the Moscow Aviation Institute proved that the optimal shape of the airship could be a discus ("flying saucer"). With such a design the aerodynamic characteristics (resistance) are identical on all sides and the influence of side winds is reduced by more than tenfold. This ensures the minimal weight of the design and the discus-shaped airship acquires additional aerodynamic lifting power in motion.

A discus-shaped airship filled with hot air may have an external diameter of some 150 meters with a 300-ton load capacity and flight range of 4,000 kilometers at a speed of 150 kilometers per hour. The payload platform, located in the central part of the airship, may hang on cables, which would make it possible to load and unload freight when the airship is as high as 50 meters in the air or has been totally grounded. The small vacuum forming under the payload platform on the ground will create a springlike effect of hundreds of tons, which will make a starting crew, which was necessary for the airships in the past, superfluous. Special launching pads became unnecessary.

The thermoplane--the power system of the discus-shaped airship (filled with hot air)--may resemble the power system of the TU-114 passenger liner, i.e., it may consist of four turbines fuelled with kerosene or heated natural gas.

Another feature of such airships would be their substantial high fuel efficiency: fuel expenditures per ton/kilometer in freight hauling in an airship flying at a speed of 150 kilometers per hour, would be lower by a factor of 4-5 compared to airplanes flying at a speed of 750 kilometers per hour. The explanation is simple: the airplane uses up about 50 percent of the energy in creating lifting power. In airships this is virtually unnecessary. This characteristic should be taken into consideration in the future as well, when reserves of chemical fuel (petroleum and natural gas) begin to be exhausted.

The computations of the Moscow Aviation Institute indicate that, taking all possible outlays into consideration, including capital construction of special shops in industry, the building of a small series of 25 to 30 airships with a 500-ton payload and the creation of operational and technical servicing facilities and fuel consumption, the cost of operating them with an average load of 65-70 percent capacity would average 5-7 kopeks per ton/kilometer. If we compare this figure to the specific cost of truck hauling which, according to the Institute of Complex Transportation Problems, for dirt roads used approximately 4 months per year, and with 25,000 tons of freight per year, is 25-30 kopecks per ton/kilometer, it becomes particularly clear how inexpensive this type of transportation is. Furthermore, the average specific fuel outlays for a freight airship would not exceed 50 to 120 grams of compressed natural gas per ton/kilometer. The best modern passenger airliners use 200 to 350 grams of kerosene per ton/kilometer.

The comparative estimates of the economic efficiency of freight transportation to the areas of the North and the Far East do not include the great losses of time and outlays for storing the freight while waiting for the loading or the transshipment of freight from one transportation facility to another. The seasonal nature of the hauling and the noncoincidence of work periods of interacting transport systems lengthen the time for freight deliveries in a number of directions by 1.5-2 years. The use of airships in hauling freight to the areas of the North and the Far East would make it possible to eliminate such difficulties.

Airships offer tremendous utilization opportunities. Imagine the conditions for the construction of a gas pipeline (such as the Urengoy-Pomary-Uzhgorod) if along the entire track airships would have brought and set up in advance prefabricated housing with all comforts (weighing about 300 tons) and all the necessary mechanisms and pipes. How greatly this would have facilitated the work of the construction crews! And what a vast amount of natural resources would have remained untouched!

According to the Institute of Complex Transportation Problems of the USSR Gosplan, every year our country creates hundreds of machine units weighing 100, 200 or 300 tons with dimensions which prevent their being hauled by rail. Special caravans must be organized for the transportation of such freight along highways, rivers and even seas and oceans. It is difficult even to estimate the cost of such transportation. Yet an airship could take such machine units, fully assembled and tested by the manufacturers, and deliver them to the place of their installation, several thousand kilometers away.

Airships could help lead convoys of ships on the Northern Seaway, and conduct rescue operations in the remote parts of the world's oceans.

The accelerated and less expensive development of the North and the Far East in our homeland is a vital economic and social task and airships may play a major role in resolving it. The efficient, purposeful and highly economical use of airships is, naturally, not of a strictly regional nature. Airships can be used with equal success in resolving transportation problems and perform special construction projects essentially throughout the entire territory of the USSR.

That is why we must now make extensive efforts in designing and creating airships on the scale of a sector rather than laboratory institutes and small workshops.

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## FARMER'S WISE WORD

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[Review by F. Morgun, CP of the Ukraine Poltava Obkom first secretary, of the book "Dumy ob Urozhaye" [Thoughts About Crops] by T. S. Mal'tsev. In two volumes. Yuzhno Ural'skoye Knizhnoye Izdatel'stvo, Chelyabinsk, 1983]

[Text] All of us love works of fiction. We read and reread the classics and argue about contemporary works.

Nevertheless, we retain a special interest in biographies, which describe real outstanding people who truly lived or lived for a while at least during our own lifetime. For these are descriptions of real and unstaged life. And if the story happens to be in the first person singular, our interest in such a work triples.

Such is, in my view, the very recently published book by T. S. Mal'tsev by the Yuzhno-Ural'skoye Knizhnoye Izdatel'stvo. Let me immediately add that it was published in a pitifully small edition of 5,000 copies. This work should reach the all-union arena faster and be accessible to the broadest possible readership.

It would be no exaggeration to say that many of us have a different perception of Terentiy Semenovich Mal'tsev.

Those who had the opportunity to set up the first cooperative farms at the beginning of the 1930s, paid attention to this self-taught experimental worker from behind the Urals and, following his example, began to set up kolkhoz laboratories.

Subsequently, his name began to appear with increasing frequency in reports submitted on the highest levels in the country--the All-Union Congress of Kolkhoz Members, Central Committee plenums and party congresses. Each one of the articles by this person was a passionate appeal to master the knowledge of the land and to develop its fertility with one's own hands.

He was a wise adviser to the developers of the virgin lands. Furthermore, his voice raised in defense of the mouldboardless cultivation of the soil played a

major role and helped to protect the newly developed land in Kazakhstan, Siberia and Altay from dust storms. He developed an original antierosion farming system, which subsequently became the base of a soil protection system and was applied over millions of hectares of virgin land.

Finally, throughout his work T. S. Mal'tsev invariably and passionately promoted our Soviet morality which asserts the foundations of human beauty: active attitude toward socially useful labor and the aspiration tirelessly to increase one's knowledge and to be a thrifty manager of the land. That is why the Komsomol Central Committee awarded Terentiy Semenovich the badge of honor of "Tutor of Youth."

What is Mal'tsev to us? Let us try to characterize him in general.

"Serving the fatherland is the supreme objective of his life," said P. A. Matveyev, secretary of the Kurgan Party Obkom, who knew Terentiy Semenovich for more than 3 decades, in the preface he wrote to the book under review.

These are good and meaningful words which, however, also call for concretizing Mal'tsev's character and his purposefulness and tirelessness in achieving his objectives.

As a prisoner of war of the Germans at the end of the first imperialist war, Mal'tsev became one of the creators of the Russian section of the German Communist Party. This fact reveals his overall conceptual credo and his aspiration to be in the center of events.

Back in his native Maltsevo, he immediately plunged into difficult peasant labor, engaged in experimentation and organized an agricultural circle on the basis of which, on the sixth anniversary of V. I. Lenin's death, a kolkhoz was formed in the village. These are Mal'tsev's origins--the grain grower of the new system and, subsequently, the world-famous scientist.

Terentiy Semenovich was able to become both, as he himself said, only when he mastered the sum total of necessary knowledge and, above all, after having studied the works of the Marxist-Leninist classics, he had mastered the wise laws governing the development of nature and society.

The development of most important agrotechnical problems, now familiar throughout the country, and the creation of tools for the practical use of the new means of soil cultivation took place in the course of his principled struggle against sluggishness, routine and bureaucratism. Naturally, victories along this way come only to a person who is decisive and purposeful, has high-level professional erudition and is loyal to his idea.

Those who knew Mal'tsev were always amazed by his ability to find a way to reach any audience. The only "secret" to this was his boundless involvement with his work. This precisely is the basis for the development of the necessary qualities which make contacts with the person pleasant and interesting: simplicity of presentation of ideas not to the detriment of depth, persuasion, logic and substantiation of conclusions.

"A mind without daring is static while daring without a brain is dangerous," he loved to say, citing an ancient philosopher. It was thus that in Terentiy Semenovich himself a natural sharp mind was aptly combined with daring, always and in everything, big or small.

In discussing his favorite topic--soil cultivation and wheat growing--he was generous in his praise. This too was Mal'tsev--a person with big and strong hands, stamped with the seal of the farmer's toil.

Naturally, such a sower could not remain indifferent to who would take over from the present generation on the land. The man of the future was conceived by Mal'tsev as being industrious, courageous, honest and highly conscientious. That is why he called upon the writers, at their congress, to support the nationwide five-year production plan with their own five-year plan which should be complex and responsible, Terentiy Semenovich emphasized. However, all of us together must raise the youth and the entire people on the basis of the simple formula that what is ours is also mine.

He spoke with concern of what is still spoiling our life. Drunkenness made him particularly angry. Such was this integral and uncompromising person.

Yes, serving his fatherland was a supreme objective of his life. All we can add is that he served through his personal example, inexhaustible energy, most profound thoughts and substantial and specific accomplishments.

The main cause in Terentiy Semenovich Mal'tsev's life was thinking about the crops and his daily struggle for them.

This is described quite fully and convincingly in his articles and speeches delivered at different times and now collected in the first volume of the book under review, dealing with progressive means of soil cultivation and raising big crops.

The scope of the formulation of the problems becomes clear from the simple enumeration of the articles: "The Spring Strategy of the Grain Grower"; "Sowing is Creative Work"; "Grain Growers Must Not Make Errors"; "On the New Agrotechnical System"; "Weather and Crop"; "In Order To Raise Stable Crops"; "Our Common Concern"; "On the Development of the Virgin Lands"; "Through Experience to Science"; "Always Be With the Grain"; and "I Have Faith in the Bountiful Ear."

Each one of these articles, included in the first volume entitled "The Field Is My Life," articles published in journals and newspapers and Mal'tsev's famous letter addressed to one of the conferences on problems of the virgin lands, were written in 1955, 1967, 1976, 1977, 1981, 1982 and 1983. However, they are not presented in chronological order but in accordance with the development of the views of their author concerning relations among people and interaction between the grain growers and the land and nature in general.

This logical chain is suitably prefaced by the article "A Word on the Land Which Feeds Us, which was published in KOMMUNIST in 1982 (No 6).

"The land on which we grow the grain looks to me like a chessboard," Mal'tsev writes, immediately leading the reader to the most important problems. "Nature always plays the whites and, as they say, has the right to make the opening move, for it is nature which determines the characteristics of the season, temperature regimens and precipitation norms and their distribution. Nature may act sometimes subconsciously but with self-confidence, as the master of the situation. This makes the task of the farmer quite difficult and always changing. However, he has a number of advantages, which include thinking, the experience of previous generations and equipment. In order not to lose the 'game' the farmer must accurately coordinate his objectives and tasks on the basis of specific circumstances" (vol 1, pp 44-45).

In counseling thorough planning and comprehensive motivation of activities in the field during the various agricultural seasons, in the struggle for generous crops, Terentiy Semenovich also called for seeking ways and permanent factors for increasing the productive force of the soil--the solution of the main problem facing anyone engaged in agricultural production. In this connection, he "gave assignments" to the scientists as well for, in his view, "a profound theory is needed for more than farming and all of agriculture, as well as a precise methodology of individual and interrelated natural and social phenomena...." (pp 47-48).

T. S. Mal'tsev's personal contribution in interpreting the laws of nature and their practical application in farming, as the most important structural component of the single nationwide economic organism, is unquestionable. For in growing our daily bread, he also grafted on the tree of agricultural science one of its most promising branches--the theory of plowless farming.

Today, when mouldboard plows are increasingly replacing the flat cutting tools in virtually all parts of the country, and when the new system of basic soil cultivation is clearly proving its unquestionable advantages, the idea appears simple. However, Mal'tsev was able to substantiate it with great difficulty. He had to find the courage to question the accuracy of some of the conclusions of the extremely famous scientist V. R. Vil'yams on the role which seasonal plants play in soil formation. He doubted them, for his own extensive experiments and observations proved that with a proper method for cultivating these plants, like perennial grasses, were also able to enrich the soil with organic substances. Therefore, he concluded that today's farmer has an extremely great opportunity for actively affecting the increased fertility of his land. All that was necessary was a radical change in the basic cultivation method.

Such was one of the fundamental views of T. S. Mal'tsev's farming outlook. It was based on his dialectical understanding of natural processes in general and their most important component--soil processes. This outlook was based on the fact that we must avoid stereotype in our attitude toward the soil but farm it creatively, on the basis of learning the laws of nature and mandatorily recalling, as we do today, the legacy of Karl Marx of not leaving a desert to our offspring.

The readers will find in the first volume many other more specific theoretical conclusions and specific recommendations.

They include Terentiy Semenovich's views on the problem of clean fallow in his native Trans-Urals and the former virgin lands.

In speaking of the spring strategy of the grain growers, with his typical skill Mal'tsev studied the situation and drew the attention of his fellow villagers to the importance of the better utilization of agrotechnical means of fighting weeds, which would subsequently reduce spoiling the environment with chemicals. Quite pertinent and important in this connection is the footnote on p 102, which reads textually as follows: "The critical remarks made by the author here and subsequently on the subject of environmental protection have been taken into consideration in corresponding decrees and legislation promulgated by the party and the government." This is an example of how authoritative T. S. Mal'tsev's words were.

A great deal of practical advice is addressed to practical agronomers in all parts of the country in the old and yet seemingly strictly local (i.e., for the people of the Urals) recommendations of Terentiy Semenovich on the subject of crop sowing! Still today requirements as to the proper choice of sowing time remain quite topical: taking into account the existence of moisture and the depth of the sowing, for this determines the time of appearance of the shoots and their quality.

In discussing the question of weather and crops, T. S. Mal'tsev reemphasizes the determining importance in achieving high end results in the activities of the agronomist who is the legislator of technology for each separate field. He also speaks of strain reserves, strain agrotechnology, times and quality of sowing, struggle against weeds and crop diseases and irrigation. Behind all of this the scientist sees the main line to be followed in ensuring the upsurge of Soviet agriculture: profound knowledge and skillful utilization of the natural laws of nature. "'To grow the necessary grain whatever the weather,' is a formula with which one can agree, for it is sensible and materialistic," we read in the article "Weather and Crops" (p 165).

The first volume of the book ends with an interview which Terentiy Semenovich gave to PRAVDA. I well recall that this issue of the newspaper was hastily delivered precisely on the occasion of our oblast conference with agricultural specialists, in which the results of 1982 and the tasks for 1983 were being discussed. That is why many of T. S. Mal'tsev's thoughts were included in the report, and virtually every speaker referred to them, for they dealt with the most vital issue: in obtaining an increasing volume of fertilizers we must in no case forget the level of agrotechnology; if the farm buys a tractor, a combine or a truck, it must be used better and invested funds recovered faster; agronomists, engineers, zootechnicians and economists must be skillful production organizers. They must set a personal example of concerned attitude toward the land; harvesting the crops without losses is as important as growing them. The interview also dealt with problems of rural social development and youth upbringing. All of them were applicable to the people of Poltava and were raised by none other than Mal'tsev himself! For the attitude toward Terentiy Semenovich in our oblast was indeed special and worthy of a separate discussion.

It was thus that each one of us became acquainted with T. S. Mal'tsev and at different times.

Terentiy Semenovich firmly entered my life while I was working in the virgin lands as director of one of the newly organized sovkhozes in that area. His advice, along with the recommendations of Academician A. I. Barayev, gave us proper guidance in the struggle against the worst enemy of the virgin fields-- wild oats. I am quite proud of the fact that while engaged in party and soviet work in Kazakhstan, I participated in the development of an antierosion farming system as suggested by A. I. Barayev, which rescued the virgin lands from fatal dust storms. Above all, I will never forget the wise agrotechnical lesson taught by Mal'tsev, the magician: the land demands constant creativity.

At the beginning of the 1970s, many agronomists and farm managers in the Poltava area, to which I subsequently returned, were objectively ready for the gradual rejection of stereotype in their work with the soil. We had no solution other than quickly putting an end to the previous lagging of grain farming in the oblast, for increasingly intensive plowing had brought the soil to the brink of exhaustion of the humus and to significant annual resowing of the main grain crop--the winter wheat. This had become a hindrance in obtaining stable yields from other crops and creating a firm animal feed base.

It was precisely then that "Mal'tsev'" science proved to be useful: plowless cultivation began to be applied in the fields, initially only during the main preparations of the soil for sowing winter crops, subsequently for spring grain and animal feed crops and, 5 years later, for other crops, including sugar beets. However, this did not mean the automatic duplication of T. S. Mal'tsev's recommendations or A. I. Barayev's "virgin land" technology. The innovation was applied strictly in accordance with local Poltava conditions. As a result, at the beginning of the 1980s, we developed our own zonal plowless farming system.

This was precisely the assessment of the work given at the session of the section on protecting the soil from erosions and the coordination council for soil protection farming of the Higher Agricultural Academy imeni Lenin, held 3 years ago in Poltava. It is popularly known as the "Poltava variant," for it is consistent with the set of basic farming tools which were developed in our area, consisting of a flat coulter, a BIG-3 harrow and a ring-spur roller, as well as methods for the semi-fallow cultivation of the fields with a view to further removal of weeds and applying and working into the soil all sorts of organic fertilizers with a heavy disk stubble breaker.

Considerable factual information was gained during the period of widespread practice of plowless cultivation, confirming the tremendous economic results of the new soil cultivation method. Not only field practice but experiments organized in a number of scientific institutions under stationary conditions indicate that the flat coulter tools allowed us to clear the soil of weeds far better than plows and thus reduce the use of herbicides. The particular conditions under which sugar beets consume free nitrogen in the plowless preparation of the soil helped to increase their sugar content. Finally, as the plowless cultivation of the soil is extended, a noticeable amount of new humus is added to the soil which changes its structure, color and odor. This

was noted with particular pleasure by Terentiy Semenovich during his Poltava visit in September 1983.

Our noted guest pointed out more than purely economic advantages of the "Poltava variant" in farming the soil.

"In your area," he said, "not only the land gained a second wind. It seems to me also that the people are feeling it. Wherever I went in your area I saw happy people in the fields. It was obvious that they were interested in their work. I feel that they have hope and that is what matters."

We must point out that Terentiy Semenovich visited the oblast during a very difficult period: it was necessary to sow the winter crops under the conditions of a record autumn drought and we could only guess as to whether or not rain would fall to help the sowing. Subsequently, the hydrometeorological service was to note in its records that droughty conditions such as the autumn of 1983 and spring of 1984 had not been experienced in Poltava on agriculture for the past 40 years. In April and May of that year the relative humidity of the air frequently dropped to 18-20 percent compared to the 60 percent normal level for that period. The thermometer rose to 30 degrees Centigrade or higher. The reduced moisture reserves in the soil under the field crops reached a critical level and the plants wilted. Naturally, this could not fail to affect the crops. However, unquestionably, the losses would have been significantly greater without the moisture-conserving and other advantages of flat coulter cultivation. That is what Mal'tsev described as the hope of the Poltava people--that same plowless cultivation!

Terentiy Semenovich could not fail to note ("I too need such arguments," he pointed out) socioeconomic changes quite desirable at present, based on plowless farming. Agronomists and engineering workers were given great autonomy in resolving agrotechnical problems. The output of mechanizers increased and so did their earnings. The reputation of this profession among young people rose. Field work is being done within a shorter time, which means an increased amount of leisure time.

These, however, are subjects discussed by the author in the second volume of his book. They will be discussed separately.

What is always striking one in Mal'tsev's life and philosophical views is his profound, sharp and responsible feeling of the inseparability, dialectical unity and interconnection among anything relative to the land. "...My thoughts, which are aimed at the small grain of wheat, invariably lead to the greatest grain of life--man" (vol 2, p 13). If these lines had not been written by Mal'tsev, they could become the shortest and most complete review of his work, for they reflect quite accurately and vividly the nature of all of his works, speeches, articles and talks.

Man is the greatest grain of life.... A grain, however, must become an ear. It must become imbued with the live juices of the native soil. It must gain great strength to become real grain rather than an empty shell. Without toil, without daily effort and without growth the human soul is like a stem without a root and stays a dwarf.

Mal'tsev was not only an innate grain grower and not only a scientist with a worldwide reputation. He was also a good teacher to many people, to our youth. He was a teacher whose words could not be ignored, for each one of them had been personally tested and experienced. He addressed the young in simple and frank terms, emotionally and persuasively. Let us take his small article "Grain Is a Noun." It is a discussion with the youngest citizens of our country--the readers of PIONERSKAYA PRAVDA. Mal'tsev would like them to become inquisitive, industrious and economical. He would like them to respect the grain and to feel as early as possible their involvement with its creation. Each word here is one of happiness or pain. It is about the grain grower, the citizen, the person. It is this sparkling joy and penetrating pain that the reader--young or wizened by time--accepts as his own. "How good it is, boys, that you will never know what a person left without bread feels.... Lack of bread took away the lives of three of my children. It was then that I swore as a father, grain grower and citizen to make the land fertile, to find the key to fertility" (vol 2, p 44).

The life of Academician Terentiy Mal'tsev was hard and noble and so was the life of his sons--by blood and in spirit. When he speaks to young people about the main thing--his dream, his toil and objectives in life--he is backed by the experience of the preceding generations, the generations of Soviet people who lifted on their shoulders their country to such an unparalleled height and who defended it from its enemies during hard times. "When I walk down the street in my village and see my relatives (we are a large family)," Mal'tsev writes, "I begin to recall their grandfathers, to enjoy what their children have become and to fantasize about what their own children will be. I feel cheerful and happy when I think of how well we live and how our dreams, even the most daring ones, have become real, have been achieved. All that is needed is desire and aspiration" (pp 13-14).

Good and lofty aspirations and not indifference but fire in the heart is what Mal'tsev valued in people. "The young people must be tuned up for life," he emphasizes in his article "Who Is a Plowman?" He continues: "...I would very much like to see every young person to be spiritually and mentally capable of experiencing the happiness of life which I have always felt" (p 105).

The grain grown for the happiness of the people was always his greatest happiness. "When the grain grows well I am happy; when it does not, I am sad" (ibid.). Mal'tsev loved to repeat the words of Gogol': "Yes, the grain growers are the people I honor most.... I wish to God that everyone would be a grain grower!" Incidentally, in his article "The Grain Demands," he recalls repeating this thought at a meeting with school students who, although they had "covered" "Dead Souls" failed to recognize it. This event is worth thinking about...about the still low educational value of classes in literature and the fact that we have not taught all children truly to love books and to absorb the legacy of the great writers thoughtfully and profoundly.

In this connection, Mal'stev's two-volume work is also a testimony to the depth which can be reached by a person who reads a lot and thinks a great deal about his readings. Quotes from great writers and philosophers are woven like

precious stones in the fabric of his works. These are invariably unfamiliar statements: it is as though he rediscovers for the people something they have seen and read but not interpreted to the end. It is as though he draws our attention by saying, think, do not hurry, reread....

Mal'tsev's speech itself was aphoristic, simple and clear, truly popular while remaining philosophically profound and wise. Turn to any page at random and you will see an example of thoughts calling for action. "I think that all of our accomplishments and blunders are based on civic conscience. It has been said that those who have freed themselves from work have naturally freed themselves from conscience as well" (p 120).

Love for work and the land is the basis in molding the personality of the true grain grower. "Love for the land...begins with seemingly minor things--love for one's family--and for bigger and greater things--awareness of love for homeland and fulfilling one's duty in the name of the homeland," Mal'tsev says (pp 126-127). He cautions that one can learn to love work only by working. Otherwise this would be like teaching someone to swim outside the water. Anyone who reacts to rural affairs and daily life in the countryside cherishes Mal'tsev's thoughts. Mal'tsev is convinced that the work of school students will be educational only when it becomes real, when it is productive, instead of being a game, a way of whiling away the hours.

In 1978 Terentiy Semenovich Mal'tsev addressed the delegates to the 18th Komsomol Congress as a grain grower. "Nothing makes man more beautiful than the steady aspiration to improvement and the desire to become better and more needed by people. Educate yourselves, develop within yourselves from an early age high moral qualities, a communist morality. Be good masters of your destiny," he wished the young people (p 10). Mal'tsev loved them. He was proud of the high level of education of contemporary boys and girls. He believed in their increased opportunities to make our lives even better and more beautiful. At the same time, like a father he cautioned them against errors and a simplistic understanding of the values of life. As Mal'tsev believes quite accurately, literacy and education do not automatically eliminate the problem of upbringing, for giving a superficial culture to man is insufficient. His happiness and the blossoming of the socialist society require inner spiritual purity and integrity, for which reason one must be educated in a spirit of "organization in labor and life and a feeling of responsibility to others" (pp 26-27).

These lofty objectives require the concentration of all forces of ideological influence. The words of lecturers, political reporters, agitators, propagandists, culture and education workers, teachers and writers must "touch the heart, ennable the soul and call for the accomplishment of great deeds in the name of the fatherland. The way birds teach their offspring to fly, all of us--in the family, the school, the club and the library--wherever we may live and work--must raise sons of the fatherland, its workers and feeders and be responsible for the way our and other people's children will grow up" (p 27).

Mal'tsev always considered as most important the question of morality and people's standards. As we reread his articles we experience something like a

physical sensation of how hurt his sensitive and very honest soul was when it confronted one shortcoming or unseemly action or another. He himself admitted that "...for a long time I was unable to calm down and I was hurt and insulted: weeds had grown on the rich field of life" (p 15).

The communist, the citizen, the man who had lived his life not for himself but for others, for the homeland and for the sake of the homeland, severely condemned those who had sunk in selfishness, who would do everything for money, who lived according to the principle "everything for me and nothing for others." "Although such people today are few what is frightening is that their behavior may contaminate other weak-willed people," he writes (p 16).

Apt observations of life and accurate diagnosis of the reasons for which "weeds" would grow here and there in our field and his wise thoughts on how to cultivate the strong and rich ear of the human soul are what make these two small volumes of Mal'tsev's works a manual not only for any self-respecting grain grower but any ideological worker true to his duty. In this connection, we believe, this book should be printed in a mass edition which would have many greatful readers.

The second volume ends with the section "From T. S. Mal'tsev's mail." The section is small but how exciting and important it is! The short excerpts from letters received by the great Russian grain grower are a sea of love--the love of the people for one of the best sons of the Soviet homeland. He received letters from scientists, grain growers, teachers, students, deputies and soldiers. A letter written by Russo Parenti, from faraway Italy, reached him. Parenti had seen Mal'tsev's photograph in the journal SOVIET UNION and recognized the Soviet delegate to the peace congress which was held in Vienna in 1952. "We communicated with gestures but, unquestionably, we understood one another on the main problem: struggle for the defense of peace!" the Italian recalled. "I was pleased to find out that you are a Soviet citizen respected by all, a person worthy of the admiration and recognition of his people and of all simple people and fighters for peace the world over" (pp 147-148).

"Dear General Field!" was the way some military servicemen addressed him on one occasion (p 149).

Here is a short letter by 20-year-old Tanya Yelyutina from the town of Korablino in Ryazan Oblast:

"Dear Terentiy Semenovich!

"It is very nice that there are people like you on earth. It seems to me that, after seeing a motion picture about you and having heard your voice even the worst person will feel something good within himself and love for people, the land and nature. Please believe what I am about to tell you: if I could give for you my life with the knowledge that your life would become eternal or much longer, I would do that immediately" (pp 153-154).

These letters and this tremendous love of the people for Mal'tsev are a great lesson in morality. This is what it means to live a long life without

betraying one's conscience even once, without giving up even in most difficult circumstances, firmly defending one's ideas with the convictions of a true scientist and true communist.

"It is said that to live a life is not like crossing a field. This is true. However, even a field cannot be crossed so simply if one is not an accidental pedestrian, an indifferent observer, but one who loves it to distraction, one who dedicates all his thoughts and actions to help this field to live, to multiply its fertility, to seek new ways to achieve this objective" (pp 54-55). These words meet with the most profound understanding and warmest response of all committed hearts. We realized this also when Terentiy Semenovich visited the Poltava area, met with agronomists and kolkhoz chairmen, beet growers, students, scientists, amateur actors, party workers and journalists. The people literally gravitated toward him, sharing with him their most intimate feelings as someone close to them. At that time I thought of how beautiful, how rich and pure is the soul of the people if it chooses as its idols people such as Terentiy Semenovich Mal'tsev--a man with overworked hands and the bright and perspicacious mind and conscience of a communist. How splendid and invincible in their rightness are such people who can raise someone like Mal'tsev.

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## FOR THE FOREIGN READER

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 10, Jul 84 (signed to press 4 Jul 84) pp 126-127

[Review by Dr of Economic Sciences V. Shemyatenkov of the book "Kratkiy Kurs Politicheskoy Ekonomii" [Short Course in Political Economy] (in English) by L. Abalkin, S. Dzarasov and A. Kulikov. Progress, Moscow, 1983, 424 pp]

[Text] Authors who undertake to describe for the readership at large in the nonsocialist world the foundations of Marxist-Leninist political economy face many problems. How to find a common language with people holding different conceptual positions? How to disperse the prejudices persistently implanted in the mass consciousness by anticomunist propaganda? How to interpret the essence of the Marxist-Leninist method of analysis of economic phenomena for those who have no concept of dialectics and historicism?

As practical experience indicates, the solution of such problems requires an approach different from the method used in teaching political economy in Soviet VUZs and in the other socialist countries, relying on the more or less theoretically trained student. This book by the noted Soviet economists L. Abalkin, S. Dzarasov and A. Kulikov, published by Moscow's Izdatel'stvo Progress, in the series "Social Science Textbooks," is a successful example of such an approach. Incidentally, an excellent translation was made into English by Yu. Sdobnikov.

Within a single volume (smaller than standard VUZ textbooks by a factor of 2 or 3) the authors were able to interpret the crucial problems of capitalist and socialist political economy. The book is distinguished by a combination of scientific approach and methodological standard, written in a popular style, and with a clear presentation, bearing in mind the characteristics of the reader. An unquestionably positive feature is the close connection between abstract-theoretical analysis and specific facts of reality, new phenomena in the development of the two opposite social systems and topical political problems of the international communist, worker and national liberation movements.

After a brief outline of precapitalist socioeconomic systems and the process of appearance of capitalism, the authors offer a concise and clear presentation of Marx's theory of commodities and money, and value and added

value. From added value (i.e., the questions discussed in the first volume of "Das Kapital") the authors go directly to the shaping of capitalist income (the questions discussed in the third volume of "Das Kapital"). Taking into consideration the specific purpose of this book, this method of presentation is entirely justified. It made it possible to present the theory of added value as a single "bloc" and to trace the entire process of transformation of the unpaid part of the value of a commodity up to the specific forms familiar to all members of a bourgeois society, in which it operates on the surface of the phenomena. This has made possible the organic combination of the presentation of the Marxist theory of capitalist exploitation with a critique of the bourgeois concepts of income and, above all, the theory of the three production factors which remains fundamental to the overwhelming majority of supporters of vulgar political economy.

Convincingly and on the basis of a contemporary theoretical level, the authors consider the complex problem of the situation of the working class. The theory of relative and absolute impoverishment is presented within the overall context of capitalist reproduction and in close connection with the dynamics of the reserve labor army. This presentation is backed by rich factual data and a critique of bourgeois concepts on the situation of the working class in contemporary capitalist society.

The chapters which deal with premonopoly capitalism end with an analysis of the mechanism of economic crises. This is followed by a description of imperialism, the general crisis of capitalism, state-monopoly capitalism and problems of the economic development of countries liberated from colonial dependence. Each of the respective chapters leads the readers to one proof or another of the inevitable doom of capitalism. This applies to sections on the historical place of imperialism, the intensification of the general crisis of capitalism, the democratic alternative to state-monopoly policy and the strategic alliance between world socialism and the liberated countries. Such a structure has enabled the authors to cover a broad range of problems of the political economy of contemporary capitalism most directly related to the development of the anti-imperialist struggle. It is true that this advantage has been gained at some cost, for the topic of the universal trend of capitalist accumulations has been somewhat compressed and the theoretical substantiation of the inevitable revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism is described repeatedly.

The section on the socialist economic system begins with a short but adequate description of the economic role of political power and the socioeconomic content of the socialist revolution. The theoretical analysis of the socialist economic system is based on five crucial problems: the nature of socialist ownership and objectives of public production under socialism; system and planning; forms and role of cost accounting relations; distribution according to labor; and dynamics and ratios of expanded reproduction.

The socialist economic system is considered by the authors in terms of the unbreakable unity between logic and historicism. The process of establishment and maturing of socialist production relations is traced to its most mature forms inherent in developed socialism.

The authors systematically promote the concept of the dialectical unity between objective economic laws and subjective activities of the members of a socialist society and the state of the whole people; they describe the economic mechanism of the developed socialist stage and the correlation between individual and public interests. Problems of specific political economy are organically linked with those of economic policy.

In the course of discussing the individual problems of socialist political economy, the authors rebuff the antiscientific fabrications of bourgeois and social-reformist critics of the socialist social system, proving the latter's historical advantages and specific accomplishments in various areas of social life.

The work under review is not void of some shortcomings which, in our view, are mainly the consequence of its limited size. In particular, in substantiating the fundamental political and economic categories, such as value, consumer value, usefulness, labor and manpower, they should have described in greater detail the meaning invested in similar terms used in contemporary bourgeois political economy: such a meaning is greatly different from that of corresponding concepts used by bourgeois ideologues in Marx's time.

The chapters dealing with imperialism and state-monopoly capitalism are presented somewhat schematically. We believe that the section on the socialist economic system would benefit from a clear comparison between socialism and the opposite social system, compressed within a single section.

All of this does not detract from the overall ideological and political significance of this work which is a specific contribution to the practical implementation of the tasks set by the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum to Soviet scientists. Under the conditions of the sharp ideological struggle in the international arena, the publication of a short course in Marxist-Leninist political economy serves the cause of spreading the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and the truth about real socialism. The very tone of the book--calm, convincing and addressed to the mind and the heart of the foreign reader--is in striking contrast to the dirty stream of reckless anticommunist insinuations currently produced by bourgeois social scientists on the instructions of imperialist reaction.

This work will unquestionably find a readership. Under the conditions of the tremendous and steadily growing interest in the theory and practice of scientific socialism, it will help many among those who have still not found their place in the political and ideological struggle to be exposed to the extremely rich treasury of Marxism-Leninism. For those who have already made their choice and are actively fighting for the cause of the working class it will be a good means of enhancing their ideological and theoretical standards.

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## SHORT BOOK REVIEW

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[Text] F. M. Rudich. "Demokraticheskiy Kharakter Upravleniya Proizvodstvom pri Sotsializme" [The Democratic Nature of Production Management Under Socialism]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1983, 191 pp. Reviewed by Prof N. Blinov, doctor of philosophical sciences, and N. Blazhko, candidate of philosophical sciences.

This work is a study of the objective conditions for the further advancement of democracy in a developed socialist society as the legitimate and necessary prerequisite for building communism.

The author concentrates on problems, such as the nature and content of the Leninist principle of democratic centralism as applicable to socialist production management; the basic methods, principles and means of managing scientific and technical progress; combining centralized planning with efficient autonomy of associations and enterprises; improving the organizational forms of socialist economic management; combining one-man command with collective production management; basic trends in training and retraining cadres and specialists for the efficient solution of management problems; and the production collective and public control over production as a school for socialist management.

Naturally it would be impossible to provide exhaustive answers to all such problems within a single book. The author, who is aware of this fact, does not claim to provide a comprehensive description of their contents. However, while providing and theoretical summation and interpretation of the essence of these processes, he does not limit himself to formulating and resolving only strictly methodological and theoretical problems, but checks them against practical experience.

The author pays particular attention to the study of and search for new ways and means of planning and economic management. He makes an effort to define socialist enterprise and to prove the role which the party organizations play in shaping and developing this important feature of economic management which has "nothing in common with the mentality of the petty owner who is able to

see and defend only his immediate interests or, at best, the interests of the collective he manages. Socialist enterprise presumes viewing individual interests and the interests of the labor collective through the panoramic sight of national tasks. It is this type of vision that the party organizations must develop in managers of socialist enterprises" (p 95).

In discussing the trends, methods and means of development of democratic principles and the direct participation of workers in production management, the author points out the legitimacy and characteristics of this process. The basic pattern of the democratic content of the participation of working people in socialist production management, unlike capitalist management, is the fact that socialism grants every member of society the full possibility of "participating not only in production but in the distribution and management of public wealth..." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 19, p 113).

Some of the suggestions formulated by the author on improving the work of people's control are of unquestionable interest.

The reader will also find answers to a number of other questions pertaining to the development of democratic foundations, methods and principles of socialist production management and an interpretation of important aspects of the Marxist-Leninist theory of management.

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